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Consumer Spatial Behavior of Edmonton's Inner City Residents, 1977

University — Université

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Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

M.A.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

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THE CONSUMER SPATIAL BEHAVIOR OF EDMONTON'S INNER CITY RESIDENTS, 1977

by

© DWAYNE M. GILHAM

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1979

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled CONSUMER SPATIAL BEHAVIOR OF EDMONTON'S INNER CITY RESIDENTS, 1977 submitted by DWAYNE M. GILHAM in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date October 12, 1979

This Thesis is dedicated

to my son Kelsey.

ABSTRACT

The subject of poverty traditionally has been overlooked by geographers. However, research in the broader area of consumer spatial behavior has revealed that the poor do behave differently from the higher income groups. Although various explanations have been put forward for this difference in behavior, it has generally been conceded that the poor form a distinct and different group within society. This thesis attempts to add to our understanding of human behavior by investigating the underlying determinants of the purchase decisions of low income or poverty level consumers. More specifically, this thesis analyzed the grocery and durable goods shopping habits of poor people in Edmonton and measured how satisfied they were with the stores they used.

A sample group of consumers was interviewed in what was identified as being low income, inner city community. The sample group was found to contain both poverty level and non-poverty level consumers. This afforded the opportunity to observe the shopping behavior of two different groups who were being served by the same retail structure.

Differences in shopping behavior were noted between the two groups. The low income respondents tended to patronize corner grocery stores while the higher income group travelled further for durable goods. These differences were found to be statistically significant. An analysis of the reasons given for their shopping behavior and their

knowledge of the retail system revealed no significant differences between the two income groups. Rather, it was found that situational variables, particularly lack of mobility and the lack of adequate storage facilities, accounted for the differences in the shopping behavior.

Attitudes towards the commercial environment by the two groups were measured on a semantic differential scale and were structured into five categories. These categories - selection of goods, quality of goods, quality of service, interior of store and prices - are those considered to be important to consumers in their patronage decisions. The scores indicated that the low income shoppers were as familiar with the advantages and disadvantages associated with the various stores and shopping strategies as were the higher income group. These findings supported the contention that low income shoppers are constrained by situational factors rather than behavioral factors and that the poor should not be considered as a separate sub-culture with radically different attitudes and values.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. Ken Fairbairn, for his careful direction and encouragement throughout the course of this thesis. On more than one occasion he and Lynfa have invited me into their home to share a companionship that has grown to be both warm and jovial. Dr. Denis Johnson of the Department of Geography and Dr. Sheila Brown of the Faculty of Business Administration and Commerce made many valuable suggestions concerning the presentation of this research and I am grateful to them both.

John Honsaker deserves praise for his invaluable assistance with the computer programming as do Jack Chesterman and Randy Pakan for their fine graphics reproductions. Special thanks to Geoff Lester and his staff for their technical advice and assistance which was invariably sought on very short notice.

I am indebted to Shirley and to a wonderful group of friends who I dare not attempt to mention for fear of excluding any one of them. No amount of thanks can express the gratitude I owe to my parents and family for their unfailing support and encouragement during my entire university career and, in particular, the final stages of this thesis. And to Susan who, while as my wife, shared the burdens and frustrations of an often reluctant graduate student.

Finally, my thanks go to those people without whom this thesis could never have been completed - the 205 men and women of Boyle Street and McCauley who gave their time to answer my questions. I am grateful to them all.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The increasing attention paid by geographers in recent years to the analysis of shopping patterns and shopping behavior reflects, in part, an interest in the commercial structure[1] of cities and, in part, a traditional interest in Central Place Theory (Davies, 1976). Although buildings involved with commercial activity occupy only a small proportion of the total space within an urban area, on the average about 5 per cent (Niedercorn and Hearle, 1964), their presence is experienced by every inhabitant. While the Central Business District (CBD) is the most visible center of commercial activity, regional shopping centers and miles of continuous commercial frontage are found throughout the city and numerous smaller centers are scattered throughout most residential neighborhoods.

Directly related to the study of the commercial structure is the analysis of the way in which the population interacts with it. Commercial land uses are important generators of traffic flow within the urban area, and it is on these trips that urban dwellers make most expenditures.[2]

---

[1] Simmons (1964) states that the observable distribution of stores in the urban landscape results in a pattern. This pattern is not haphazard but "...arises from a structure of retail activity, a system of regular interaction of customers and stores determined by economic and cultural values, the same sort of regularities which result in the distribution of cities" (Simmons, 1964: 2).

[2] For example, a Chicago study estimated that 28 per cent of all vehicular trips and 25 per cent of all individual vehicular trips on an average weekday end on commercial land and that on these trips, Chicagoans make about 60 per cent of their total consumer expenditures (Berry, 1963).

Consumer spatial behavior, then, is defined as the ways in which consumers interact with the places offering various goods and services over space or, "...the ways in which buyers are paired with sellers in urban areas to give rise to shopping patterns" (Garner, 1970: 179).

GEOGRAPHY AND THE STUDY OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

One writer has suggested that studies dealing with shopping patterns can be classified on the basis of their nature and purpose into three fairly broad, but nevertheless distinct, groups (Garner, 1970). These approaches, however, must be viewed merely as convenient modes or frameworks for research or discussion as it is not possible to separate the complexities of any spatial behavior into distinct components.

Garner's first group, which he considers to be the most impressive in volume, comprises studies which are largely descriptive in content. Here the emphasis is typically on variations in the distances consumers travel to shop and how this is related to such things as, for example, mode of travel, type of trip undertaken, the kind of good sought, and the socio-economic characteristics of the shopper. This has also been termed the biographical approach (Taylor, 1974). It has been found that consumers vary in shopping behavior reflecting differences in knowledge, need, and interpretations of what constitutes maximum utility[3] (Nader, 1969; Holly and Wheeler, 1972; Gaylor, 1974).

---

[3]Trip utility can be thought of as the difference between the reward from the trip and the costs incurred in making it. Costs include not only the usual transportation and opportunity costs, but also the intangible costs associated with time, effort, and personal comfort that are related to the level of congestion within the store(s). Hence consumers may not be concerned as much with minimizing trip costs as they are with maximizing trip utility (Yeates and Garner, 1971).

The major criticism of the biographical approach is that although it is possible to make generalizations about the shopping behavior of different socio-economic groups, it does not necessarily indicate the reason why different groups behave differently. Further criticism of the biographical approach has come from two marketing researchers (Rich and Jain, 1968) who feel that rising incomes and educational levels have obscured the social class distinction and that socio-economic variables are no longer important factors in consumer behavior.[4] Garner feels however, that these empirical studies are extremely important since they are often suggestive of more specific hypotheses for subsequent research.

The second and third categories, as described by Garner, differ not so much in what is studied as in the methods used to study them. The second approach is only differentiated from the first because the studies, "...are explicitly placed in a quantitative framework and rely almost exclusively (on) statistical inference" (Garner, 1970: 179). These studies tend to be concerned with specific concepts such as the range of a good (Clark, 1968) or trip utility (Marble and Bowlby, 1968). One is left to assume, therefore, that this approach is concerned with testing the more specific hypotheses that result from some of the descriptive studies mentioned in the first category.

The third category includes studies in which the goal is to develop models of shopping behavior. The objective is to replicate the relevant features of existing shopping patterns by reducing the apparent complexity of the real world to the coherent and rigorous language of mathematical

---

[4] Gaylor's Vancouver study (1974) and a more recent study (Foxall, 1975) tend to refute Rich and Jain's belief. The authors feel that socio-economic differences are still readily apparent in North American society and that differing consumer behavior patterns are easily discernible.

relationships. The model is a convenient tool for the researcher as he is then able to make predictions concerning some aspect of human behavior. Because models operate at a fairly high level of data aggregation and thus attempt to replicate mass behavior, it is not surprising to find the most active development of the models in the hands of practising planners today rather than geographers (Garner, 1970).[5]

The shopping models developed by geographers have tended to be operational in character because they have taken some of the observed regularities as a starting point and have attempted to reproduce them using mathematical equations. Most operational models are direct descendants of Reilly's Retail Gravitation Law (Reilly, 1931). Reilly's original law of retail gravitation stated that two cities attract trade from an intermediate town in the vicinity of the breaking point approximately in direct proportion to the population of the two cities and in inverse proportion to the square of the distances from these two cities to the intermediate town (Reilly, 1931). This was expressed in the following formula:

$$\frac{Ba}{Bb} = \left(\frac{Pa}{Pb}\right)\left(\frac{Db}{Da}\right)^2$$

where Ba is the proportion of the trade from intermediate city A,

Bb is the proportion attracted by city B,

PA is the population of city A,

Pb is the population of city B,

Da is the distance from intermediate town to city A, and

Db is the distance from intermediate town to city B.

---

[5]For example, see Shopping Models (1971) by the National Economic Development Council of Britain.

This formula was later modified by Converse (1949) in order to calculate the approximate point between two competing cities where the trading influence of each was equal. The breaking point formula derived by Converse is:

$$Db = \frac{Dab}{1 + \sqrt{\frac{Pa}{Pb}}}$$

where Db is the breaking point between city A and city B in miles from B,

Dab is the distance separating city A from city B,

Pb is the population of city B, and

Pa is the population of city A.

By measuring the flow of goods and services, these deterministic approaches were used to estimate how a town's trade should be divided between two large centers as well as estimating the size of the town's trade area. Although these models were useful for estimating the flow of goods between different centers, they had to be revised in order to describe the interaction between a continuous distribution of population and shopping opportunities as is the case within an urban area. To incorporate this many-center interaction and the element of consumer choice it implies, the dependent variable was specified as a probability. According to Huff's model (1964), the probability of a given shopping center being selected by the shopper from the available alternatives is:

$$Pj = \frac{Uj}{\sum_{j} Uj}$$

in which Uj is the utility associated with the *jth* center. Utility was defined as the ratio of the size of the shopping center (Sj) to the travel time (Tij) in getting from a consumer travel base i to a given center j. This is expressed by:

$$Uj = \frac{Sj}{Tij^{\lambda}}$$

where λ is a parameter which is to be estimated empirically to reflect the effect of travel time on various kinds of shopping trips. In this way Huff presented a trading area as a demand surface containing potential customers for a specified product or service. The demand curve consists of a series of demand gradients, or zones, reflecting varying customer-sales potentials. The demand gradients are of a probabilistic nature, ranging from a probability value of less than one to a value greater than zero (except in the complete monopoly situation in which the probability value equals one). Demand gradients of competing firms overlap and where gradients of like probability intersect, a spatial equilibrium is reached meaning the probability of a consumer choosing firm A is equal to the probability of the consumer choosing firm B.

The deterministic and probabilistic approaches rely, to a great extent, on the abstract concept of economic man who seeks to minimize his travel costs and time. By assuming the shopper has perfect knowledge about the city's commercial structure, it is assumed that the rational shopper will shop at the nearest available location that satisfies his needs. This results in a theory which specifies that the consumer rationally balances travel costs with the selling price of a given good to result in rather simple patterns of behavior in which flows are hierarchic and the consumer always travels to the closest center for the satisfaction of given needs.[6]

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[6]Dunn and McCune (1973) tested Huff's model in Edmonton but were not able to empirically verify the model's relevance to the real-life situation.

THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

Behavioral scientists have realized that the knowledge of the real-world consumer is imperfect and is restricted at any given time to the opportunities for shopping he has learned from the experience of living in the urban area. Zipf attributes human spatial behavior to a principle of least effort;

> ...since human beings, after all, are the elements of the social group and, in providing the action of the group with least effort, they will make the group action one of least effort (Zipf, 1959).

Simon (1957) rejects the economic man concept by arguing that even if the individual had a perfect knowledge of the situation he would not act in a manner to achieve the optimal solution because man is basically a "satisficer" and is content with sub-optimal solutions. Wolpert is one geographer whose research tends to lend support to Simon's argument;

> ... the concept of the spatial satisficer appears to be more descriptively accurate of the behavioral patterns...than the normative concept of economic man. The individual is adaptively or intendedly rational than omnisciently rational (Wolpert, 1964: 558).

Huff (1960) has concluded that each individual consumer can be thought of as having his own highly personalized behavior space and the way in which he operates within his behavior space depends upon his perception of the opportunities it contains for the satisfaction of a given need. This perception will be influenced by the individual's value system which in turn is influenced by such things as income level, age, sex, race, occupation and educational attainment.

Recently, geographers have begun to investigate consumer spatial behavior from a decidedly behavioral perspective or what Taylor (1974) refers to as the dispositional approach. Some writers suggest that analytic models developed by psychologists regarding goal objectives,

drives, motivations, and the stimuli lying behind decision-making are obviously essential in the behavioral or dispositional approach (Golledge, 1967; Garner, 1970; Davies, 1976). Since individuals make decisions within the framework of their perceptions, or images,[7] of physical space, Garner feels that the measuring of the individual's preferences is a key step in establishing the way in which consumers in fact make decisions.

> A possible implication from this is, contrary to the gravitationalist's belief, that utility in shopping behavior may be much less dependent on distance within the urban area than we have hitherto supposed - at least for shoppers with well-developed space preferences (Garner, 1970: 183).

Work in the area of mental maps suggests that the individual's image of space, and what the space contains, are not completely unpredictable. The scanty evidence to date suggests that a certain proportion of images are common to individuals (Gould, 1966; Downs, 1967; Smith, 1974), and it is with this common part of the spatial image that geographers should concern themselves in order to develop models with predictive ability. In order to subject this imagery to measurement, the attitude scaling techniques developed in psychology would seem to easily lend themselves to geographical research (Garner, 1970; Brown, 1974).

Garner's evaluation of the geographer's contribution to our knowledge of consumer behavior leads him to propose two strategies for a cognitive-behavioral approach: 1) the relationship between the consumer and the images they hold and 2) the relationship between the images and the nature of the urban retail structure (Garner, 1970: 184). The results of

---

[7] Garner appears to use the terms perception and images interchangeably. However, Tuan (1975) suggests that there are fundamental differences between the two. "A percept is sustained by the information in the environment: we see what is before us. An image, on the other hand, is something we see when the environmental stimuli do not appear to justify it (a percept of the past)..." (Tuan, 1975: 208).

investigations of perception within the broader urban environment suggest that individuals are highly selective and that the images are quite fragmentary. Vast areas of physical space are left untouched and, indeed, are unknown as far as the individual is concerned (Lynch, 1960; Gould and White, 1974). Thus, in the first proposed strategy, the emphasis would be on the socio-psychological characteristics of the consumer, and it is in this respect that direct considerations of such things as the value system, motivation, and goal objectives will be needed. In the second strategy, attention would focus on the aspects of the retail structure that are filtered out as insignificant in the mental image of the shopping environment. Both Smith (1974) and Brown (1974) have conducted what can be termed as cognitive-behavioral research on consumer spatial behavior in two Canadian cities, Hamilton and Edmonton respectively, and these will be reviewed in more detail in Chapter Four.

In an effort to discover which geographical approach to consumer behavior yielded the most predictive ability, Taylor (1974) employed what he termed the locational (the gravitationalist's approach), the biographical and the dispositional techniques. He found the relationship between consumer disposition and the retail patronage to be scale dependent. At the macro scale, or where the consumer is choosing between different shopping centers, the location of the consumer relative to the retail facilities of varying size assumes primary importance. At the micro-scale, when choosing between different stores, the consumer's dispositions assume a far greater significance and in fact emerge as the most accurate predictors of retail patronage.

> The varying significance of different variables at different scales suggest that a patronage decision may be the result of a two stage search and evaluation

> process: the first stage, at a macro scale involving the isolation of one or more feasible alternative shopping areas primarily on the basis of locational considerations; the second stage, at a micro scale involving the selection of a store within one of the preselected shopping areas with dispositional factors being fundamental in directing the evaluation of alternatives and the choice of a preferred store (Taylor, 1974: 199-200).

It should be noted that although the dispositional model attained the highest level of prediction for the type of store patronage, and the location model proved to be the best indicator for the type of shopping center, the differences were not that extreme and in both cases the biographical model placed second. Now that the approaches employed by geographers in the study of consumer spatial behavior have been outlined it is possible to turn to the objectives of this study.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Essentially, this thesis is couched in terms of a biographical approach although some of the consumer dispositions with regard to the respondents' shopping behavior are incorporated into this study. The techniques used to obtain this information are mentioned later in this section and are elaborated on more fully in the literature review (Chapter Four) and the analysis chapters (Chapters Five and Six). First, however, the problem must be briefly discussed, the objectives outlined, and the reasons for undertaking this study stated.

The literature dealing with marketing and marketing geography reveal one distinct trend. That is, in comparison to middle or higher income shoppers, low income and poverty level urban consumers engage in less comparative pre-purchase shopping, travel less distance, know of fewer stores, pay higher credit charges and in general are less effective shoppers in that they pay higher prices for what are often inferior goods

(Caplovitz, 1963; Nader, 1969; Gaylor, 1974; Andreasen, 1975; Goldman, 1976). Although the study of poverty has traditionally been overlooked or ignored by geographers (Reckford, 1968; Morrill, 1970; Harvey, 1973), marketing geographers have realized that the consumer spatial behavior of the low income shopper is distinctly different from the more affluent classes. As well, it has been recognized that the low income consumer must function within a shopping structure different from that which serves the rest of the urban population. That is, American studies dealing with low income shoppers have revealed that the poor generally live in what has been called the inner-city slum where the larger and more efficient supermarkets and department stores do not locate (Sturdivant, 1969) and where the hierarchical shopping structure found in the suburban areas does not exist (Berry, 1963). Instead, the inner city is characterized by small, inefficient stores who rely on a captive market that lacks either the mobility or the skill to engage in comparative shopping (Holly and Wheeler, 1972).

Therefore, the first objective of this study is to determine whether or not such retail outlets exist in Edmonton. This will be accomplished by using Census Data in order to establish if and where a low income area exists and then by surveying or mapping the stores which serve that area.

The second objective of this study, once such an area has been identified, is to record the shopping habits of a random selection of residents who reside within the boundaries of the study area. In keeping with other such studies, information concerning grocery shopping and durable goods shopping behavior will be gathered through interviews. By collecting similar types of data, it will be possible to draw comparasons between this study and other studies. The intention of the questionnaire design will be to establish who interacts with the existing market

structure, what their socio-economic characteristics are, what their knowledge of the market is, and what they think of or what their value judgements are concerning this market structure. The biographical approach will be used to gather data concerning education, income, family status, race, age and length of residence within the study area in order to determine whether or not significant differences in shopping behavior exist among the residents. The approach used to test the respondents' knowledge of existing stores within the area and gauge their value judgements or opinions about those stores will be cognitive-behavioral. The latter will involve differential scaling of criteria which have been established by Downs (1970) as being important factors in the patronage selection decision.

There are two major reasons for undertaking such a study. First, Canadian research in this area is scant with the bulk being conducted in Great Britain and the United States. Britain, as Davies (1976) points out, is different from the Canadian situation in that the general population is much less mobile due to lower levels of car ownership. Secondly, British planning is more rigid, particularly in terms of commercial development where hierarchical shopping structures exist in both low income and more affluent areas (Davies, 1976). With regard to American studies, most research on low income consumers has been conducted in the inner city areas. Lithwick (1970) feels that the Canadian inner city is "radically" different in terms of population characteristics. Canadian inner cities are said to contain a higher proportion of the elderly and lack the large minority populations that are characteristic of the American inner city slums and ghettos. However, the key issue may not be that certain ethnic groups are present in greater numbers in the American inner city but that the greatest concentrations of minority groups in Canada, particu-

larly the Native Indians, are in our inner cities. Moreover, the fact that they demonstrate crucial characteristics such as the lack of job or language skills may be of more importance than their actual numbers and racial origins. At any rate, the relevance of British and American research to the Canadian experience may be questioned.

The second major reason for such a study is to increase our limited knowledge concerning the behavior of low income and poverty level inner city residents as an aid in implementing poverty related programs and in designing urban environments. This is particularly relevant to Edmonton where urban renewal and neighbourhood improvement plans are continually being carried out in the older, inner city neighbourhoods such as Norwood, Alberta Avenue and Boyle Street/McCauley.

A final reason is to further the knowledge of educators who, in recent years, have made attempts to educate the poor in various life skills, including consumer education (Tayer, 1968; Gilham, 1978).

THESIS STRUCTURE

The first chapter has dealt with the strategies employed by geographers in the study of consumer spatial behavior and the objectives of this thesis were also presented. The second chapter will deal with the issues of poverty, its definitions and the techniques employed by Statistics Canada for determining who in Canada is living at or below the poverty level. Chapter Three will be concerned with the study area (chosen on the basis of poverty level incomes), its residents and the commercial structure of the area. Chapter Four will be a review of the literature dealing with low income consumers written by marketing researchers as well as geographers in order to determine what hypothesis(es) should be tested. Chapters Five and Six will deal with the grocery shopping and durable goods shopping

behavior, respectively, of the respondents and it is here that the hypothesis testing will be undertaken. Finally, Chapter Seven will contain a summary of the study and the resulting conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY IN CANADA

In order to select an area for study whose residents can be termed as being poor, it is necessary to define what poverty is in the Canadian sense. Therefore, this Chapter presents a discussion of poverty including its definition, causes, method of measurement and finally, what group or groups of Canadians fall into the poverty category.

DEFINITION OF POVERTY

For thousands of years poverty has been taken for granted. It was seen as a condition of life that was inevitable. In the past and even today in most nations, the vast majority of the populace has been poor relative to the wealth amassed by a small ruling elite. However, for the first time in the history of mankind, this century has seen societies develop in which the majority has been able to escape privation. Canada stands beside a handful of other countries that have achieved a rapid, self-sustaining development and yet amidst this apparent abundance, poverty exists and tends to persist. Perhaps as many as one-third of all Canadians suffer to some extent from the many aspects of poverty (Lithwick, 1971).

Although much has been written on poverty it is very difficult to accurately define or measure. In the words of one writer,

> In attempting to develop a working definition of poverty, the first thing we must bear in mind is that a highly precise definition is impossible. Economic deprivation

> and inequality are in their nature matters of degree: accordingly, one cannot fix precise levels below which there is poverty and above which there is not. Furthermore, while it is relatively easy to measure income and expenditure levels, the more subjective aspects of poverty are much more difficult, perhaps impossible, to quantify. Finally, since poverty is considered to be an undesirable state, an element of value judgement is involved when we attempt to delimit it (Lederer, 1972: 23).

Dictionaries, in defining poverty, use such terms as indigence, want, scarcity, deficiency, poorness, or meanness and point out that the dominant sense of present-day usage of the word is that of having little money or property (Poduluk, 1968). It is implicitly assumed that this also connotes deprivation in respect to various aspects of consumption - that low income is accompanied by such factors as malnutrition, inadequate health care, and poor housing (Wilbur, 1975).

Wilbur has defined poverty as the relative lack of resources and/or the inability to utilize resources and he views it as a system that is multidimensional. In order to understand the system it is necessary to identify, measure and analyse the properties or dimensions of poverty. He has suggested a broad system for classification in which poverty characteristics or attributes are divided into those which relate primarily to a) the life cycle of the individual and b) areas, regions, or collectivities of people.

In relation to the individual's life cycle, the five general poverty characteristics are identified as the poverty of health, capability, motivation, personality and socio-economic status. The manner and degree to which one is blessed with these resources will influence one's probability of relative prosperity.

Poverty attributes of geographic areas or collectivities of people can be treated separately from those for individuals. Basic

resources, ability to mobilize these resources, and the resulting poverty features are somewhat different for geogaphic areas than for individuals. Seven basic resources are identified as a basis for distinguishing poverty characteristics: natural resources, government policy, the economic system, social norms, the stratification system, community services and the mass media who are so influential in influencing public opinion. Wilbur contends that all these properties or characteristics are identifiable and measureable and as such provide a broad framework for the analysis of poverty.

MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY

Although level of income is an insufficient indicator of poverty, it has been adopted as a surrogate measure of poverty levels in Canada. Research in the late 1950's revealed that a family that spent 70 per cent or more of the disposable family income upon essentials such as food, clothing, and shelter might be in "straited circumstances" (Statistics Canada, 1959: 65-521). In 1969, Statistics Canada adopted a figure of 62 per cent (the Revised Low Income Cut-off) spent on essentials as the measure of poverty in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1974:13-206). Thus in 1969, according to Statistics Canada, a family of four (husband, wife and two children) would need an annual household income of over $4,420 in order to escape poverty (Statistics Canada, 1969: 13-542). In that same year, the Special Senate Committee on Poverty set the line at $5,000 for a family of four (Information Canada, 1971). In 1970, the results of the Committee's Gallup Poll indicated that most Canadians considered $6,500 to be the minimum acceptable income for a family of four.

Meanwhile, the annual earning at the Federal Minimum Wage Level was $3,000 in 1970 (to which 8 per cent of Canadian workers were subject), far below even Statistics Canada's revised low income cut-off line of

$4,500 per annum (National Health and Welfare, 1971). At the same time the Provincial Minimum Wage Levels of all provinces except British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario fell below the Federal standards and in all provinces except Alberta, Manitoba and Nova Scotia, the annual Social Assistance payments, commonly known as welfare, for a family of four fell below the Federal Minimum Wage Level.

Obviously, one level of income is an insufficient measure of whether or not an individual or family is living in poverty. A family with several children has many more expenses than does a childless couple. Traditionally, it has been more expensive to live in a large urban environment than to live in a rural or small town setting (Canadian Welfare Council, 1965). In order to further provide a method for recognizing low income families and individuals, Statistics Canada has compiled a table indicating the cut-off point (poverty line) for individuals and for families of up to seven persons (TABLE 1). As well, these levels take into account the area (rural or size of city) in which these persons live. For example, in 1977 (year for which the latest statistics are available), a family of four persons living in a rural area would need an income of over $7,110 in order to escape poverty while a family of four in an urban area of over 500,000 people would need an annual income of over $9,778. In 1979, assuming an annual inflation rate of 10 per cent in recent years, that same family of four living in a city such as Edmonton would need an annual household income of over $11,830 in order to rise above the poverty line as defined by Statistics Canada.[1]

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[1] In Toronto, the Metro Social Planning Council has set the poverty line for a family of four at $14,450 in pre-tax income. This is $1,000 less than the average industrial salary in that city (Edmonton Journal, December 5, 1978).

TABLE 1 : INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS BY FAMILY SIZE IN CANADA, 1977

SIZE OF FAMILY UNIT	REVISED LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS				
	SIZE OF AREA OF RESIDENCE				
	500,000 and over	100,000-499,000	30,000-99,999	less than 30,000	Rural areas
	ANNUAL INCOMES ($)				
1 person	4,446	4,161	4,041	3,717	3,231
2 persons	6,443	6,034	5,859	5,388	4,688
3 persons	8,221	7,700	7,473	6,870	5,980
4 persons	9,778	9,156	8,888	8,178	7,110
5 persons	10,930	10,233	9,936	9,144	7,951
6 persons	11,999	11,235	10,909	10,036	8,726
7 or more persons	13,158	12,316	11,968	11,002	9,567

(Statistics Canada, 1977: 13-206, Table III)

CAUSES OF POVERTY

Parnell (1973) states that our conception of the poor and the welfare recipient has been greatly influenced by our cultural inheritance of the "work ethic" and the idealization of the "rugged individual". Thus, we are encouraged to think that anyone who has the desire, the drive and the opportunity can succeed in our society. Through determination one can get an education, find a job, provide for oneself and one's family, and ultimately become successful. It is not surprising, concludes Parnell, that most Canadians see the poor

> ...as shiftless, unambitious, lazy, and hold the belief that poverty is largely self-inflicted. They assume opportunities abound for everyone who wishes to take advantage of them, and that therefore idleness is evil and those who do not work do so by choice (Parnell, 1973: 3).

Researchers who have engaged in the study of poverty, however, have found that there are many other factors involved. Two popular con-

cepts of poverty which have received a good deal of attention are the culture of poverty (Lewis, 1966) and the cycle of poverty (Orshansky, 1963).

Lewis defines the culture of poverty as

> ...an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the values and the goals of a larger society (Lewis, 1966: 9).

A low level of integration and participation by the poor in the major activities of society characterize the culture of poverty. This absence of participation is explained by such factors as limited resources, segregation and discrimination, fear, suspicion, and apathy. Poor housing conditions, crowding and a lack of organization are typical at the community level. Frequent abandonment of wives and children, a tendency toward mother-centered families, and a strong disposition to authoritarianism characterize the family level while the individual expresses a strong feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority.

These attributes are said to allow the poor to adjust and to exist as a subculture. By living for the present, the poor may develop the ability for sponaneity, enjoyment of the sensual, and the indulgence of an impulse. By establishing relatively low levels of aspiration, frustrations may be reduced. Because these attitudes and values are passed on to the children at an early age, the culture of poverty is thought to be self-perpetuating. Lewis estimates that the culture of poverty is limited to about 20 per cent of the poor in the United States.

The second concept, the cycle of poverty, is defined as the predestination of certain people to lead a life of poverty. The idea is that one inherits poverty through color, economic status, or the occupation of one's parents (Orshansky, 1963). The Canadian Welfare Council (1969)

has identified five poverty causes that appear to be related to the cycle of poverty:

1) Life-cycle poverty

2) Depressed area poverty

3) Crisis poverty

4) Poverty due to long-term dependency

5) Inner city poverty

The causes are not mutually exclusive and may overlap and reinforce one another.[2]

Life-Cycle Poverty

Life-cycle poverty affects the young and the old. One half of the Canadian population is under 25 years of age while another one and one-half million are over 65 years of age. Because longer periods of training are needed to create an increasingly technological labor force, many of the young are not gainfully employed. At the other end of the life cycle, mandatory retirement and increasing longevity are swelling the numbers in the retirement ranks. Thus, "...life-cycle poverty is therefore likely to press in on people during predictable periods in their lives: in childhood, later when they have children of their own to support, and again in old age" (Canadian Welfare Council, 1969: 17).

Depressed Area Poverty

Depressed area poverty is defined as those regions which are more

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[2] The Canadian Welfare Council emphasizes the importance of not confusing characteristics with cause. For example, although there is a correlation between low educational attainment and poverty (Poduluk (1968) states that 68 per cent of low income family heads only have had elementary schooling), low education may make a person more liable to unemployment but the basic cause of the unemployment may be a drop in the country's or the area's economy.

heavily dependent than other areas on declining forms of production. Such depressed areas in Canada are the coal mining areas of Nova Scotia, the fishing industry in parts of Newfoundland, and former lumbering regions in Eastern Ontario and Quebec. Due to the thinly-scattered population in many large regions, Canada is particularly vulnerable to depressed area poverty. "If to the handicaps imposed by isolation are added the handicaps of poorly educated workers, or minority groups speaking minority languages such as the Indians and Eskimos, then their poverty will be even more severe" (Canadian Welfare Council, 1969: 22).

Crisis Poverty

Crisis poverty is the result of income lost when the breadwinner is off work due to illness not related to work and is therefore not eligible for unemployment insurance or worker's compensation. Those familes with low incomes, who live hand-to-mouth, are especially vulnerable to crisis poverty when the family head is unable to earn an income.

Poverty Due to Long-Term Dependency

Poverty due to long-term dependency affects those people that are permanently handicapped - physically or mentally. Many are handicapped from birth and will never be able to earn a living, while others have acquired physical or mental defects later in life and are unable to work.

Inner City Poverty

Inner city poverty is perhaps one of the most visible aspects of poverty in Canada and the most relevant to this study. The most adverse impact of urbanization has been concentrated in the center of the cities as the National Housing Act, with its almost total reliance on assisted home ownership of single family dwellings, has encouraged the flight to the suburbs and consequently the inner city has been neglected.

> The concentration of poor people in the inner city imposes an accumulation of mutually reinforcing social handicaps upon all who live in these neighbourhoods. They compete for the same poorly paid jobs, they use the same relatively low quality schools and services, they pay inflated prices for poor quality foods, and their low status address follows them and restricts their opportunities wherever they go (Canadian Welfare Council, 1969: 26).

The above views have apparent implications for the social researcher and policy maker with regard to trying to improve the lot of the low income segment of society. If the cycle of poverty view is correct, once the social and economic environment of the poor is changed, their behavior will quickly come to resemble that of the solid middle classes. If, however, there is a culture of poverty, many of the poor will not respond readily or at all to increased opportunities or other situational changes.

> Rather, the values of the poor that are maladaptive in the long run will have to be extinguished, or the society's guardians will have to accept the fact that the....middle-class values are perhaps after all, not the highest point of moral evolution, that other values may be equally suitable to those who hold them (Roe, 1971: 230).

WHO ARE THE POOR?

The majority of the poor in Canada can be identified as being the aged, young married couples, single parent families headed by females, immigrants, and Native people (Adams, 1970; Barnhill, 1972).

The 1977 figures provided by Statistics Canada indicate that families headed by individuals 34 years of age or younger comprise 30 per cent of the low income family units in Canada while those headed by individuals 65 years of age or older account for over 22 per cent of the poor. Of all families headed by females in Canada, 41 per cent are low income compared to only 9.3 per cent for male headed families. Of all single unattached females, 41 per cent fall below the official poverty line compared to 29.4

per cent of all unattached males.[3] The traditional belief that the poor are poor because they do not work is not supported by Statistics Canada. In over one-half of the cases (almost 52 per cent) the family head was actively employed in the labor force.

In 1977, nearly one-half (49 per cent) of all low income families and 60 per cent of all low income unattached individuals resided in urban areas of 100,000 people or more. By region, Quebec and Ontario contained the most low income families (31.8 and 30.8 per cent respectively) and the most low income unattached individuals (26.7 and 34.6 per cent respectively). The Atlantic Provinces accounted for 11.0 and 8.2 per cent, the Prairie Provinces 16.9 and 17.8 per cent, and British Columbia 9.5 and 12.2 per cent respectively. For a further breakdown as well as a comparison of the proportion of families and unattached individuals who are not considered to be low income see Table 2.

The majority of low income households are located either in city centers or in rural areas where community services are lacking (Dennis and Fish, 1972). In the cities, they are frequently located in industrial or commercial areas where noise and air pollution are high. The newer, low income government subsidized housing is usually located on the fringes of developing areas which are devoid of community facilities. In the rural areas, the worst housing is occupied by the 500,000 Inuit, Indians and Metis (Dennis and Fish, 1972).

According to Dennis and Fish, the poor are much more likely to live

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[3] It would appear that the chances of escaping poverty are somewhat better if you are living as a family unit. Statistics Canada points out that 12 per cent of all families and 38.1 per cent of all unattached individuals fall below the official poverty line.

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS AND OF OTHER FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS BY PROVINCE, 1977

	FAMILIES		UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS	
	LOW INCOME	OTHER	LOW INCOME	OTHER
Atlantic Provinces	11.0	8.8	8.2	6.0
Newfoundland	3.1	2.1	1.3	0.7
Prince Edward Island	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4
Nova Scotia	3.4	3.1	3.6	2.9
Newbrunswick	4.1	3.1	2.8	2.0
Quebec	31.8	27.3	26.7	21.3
Ontario	30.8	35.3	34.6	38.5
Prairie Provinces	16.9	16.5	17.8	18.8
Manitoba	4.8	4.2	6.1	4.2
Saskatchewan	4.5	3.6	4.6	4.5
Alberta	7.6	8.7	7.1	10.0
British Columbia	9.5	12.1	12.2	15.4

(Statistics Canada, 1977: 13-206, Table 8)

in older housing which is in need of structural repair or lacks essential plumbing or heating facilities. Although 63 per cent of the households in the bottom two quintiles owned their own homes in 1967, this proportion is decreasing with increasing tenancy. These tenants suffer the combined effects of a low income, a limited education, a lack of bargaining power and antiquated tenant laws so that they end up spending twice as great a proportion of their disposable incomes for shelter than does the average family (Dennis and Fish, 1972).

THE POVERTY QUESTION TODAY

During the early 1960's writers such as Harrington (1962) and Galbraith (1960) popularized the notion of the "invisible poor". This was followed by United States President Johnson's war on poverty which was launched in 1964 and the appointment of the Canadian Special Senate Committee on Poverty in the late 1960's. Much was documented, including The Real Poverty Report written by some members of the Special Senate Committee who had become disenchanted with the government supervised proceedings. Both the American and Canadian publics were made aware that a substantial number of poor people existed and strategies such as "minimum wage guarantees" and "comprehensive Social Security Plans" (Lampman, 1971) were suggested but were largely never adopted. Today, several years later, the plight of the poor seems forgotten amid the spectre of unemployment, inflation and a growing public alarm at government spending. However, the poor are still with us, even in oil-rich Alberta where nearly a quarter of the 600,000 families and unattached individuals have been judged to be eligible for some form of social assistance (Chambers, 1978).

Although the Canadian Council on Social Development feels that the distribution of wealth has changed very little over the past 20 years, one economist(McGillivray, 1978) senses a lessening gap in incomes between the rich and the poor. He cites figures which show that in 1970 the reported incomes of the highest paid group, doctors, were ten times greater than the incomes of the lowest group, pensioners. However, by 1976, doctors, who were still at the top of the pay scale, were only making five times the incomes of the lowest group. Whether or not this apparent equality squeeze is resulting in real gains for the poor in

absolute terms or is simply a reflection of a declining standard of living remains to be seen.

SUMMARY

The above section has discussed the definition of poverty and has dealt briefly with the causes of poverty. Also included was the method employed by Statistics Canada for establishing who lives below the poverty level whereby those households which spend 62 per cent or more of their available income on essentials such as shelter, food and clothing are said to fall below the Revised Low Income Cut-off. Although this method is based on income, family size and size of city is also taken into account with cities of over one-half million inhabitants being the most expensive in which to live. It is here, in the central areas of the larger cities, that many of Canada's poor live.

In Chapter Three a Study Area based on poverty level incomes will be selected. This will include a discussion of the residents of the area and their characteristics, the characteristics of the respondents and a discussion of the area's commercial structure. Once a low income area in Edmonton has been identified,it will then be possible to proceed with a discussion of low income consumer behavior in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER 3

THE STUDY AREA

Now that a method for recognizing low income or poverty level households has been discussed, it is possible to select an area for study and to identify those households that exist in poverty according to the criteria used by Statistics Canada. As well, this Chapter will include a description of the Study Area's commercial or retail structure.

The area chosen for study is commonly known as the Boyle Street/McCauley neigbourhoods and includes all of Census Tract (C.T.) 45 and parts of C.T.'s 34 and 44 (FIGURE 1). According to the 1971 Census Data (Statistics Canada), these C.T's are among the lowest income areas in Edmonton (FIGURE 2).[1] In fact, C.T's 34 and 45 are the lowest income areas with mean annual household incomes in 1971 of $5,217 and $4,304 respectively. This is well below the mean annual household income of $10,699 for Edmonton as a whole in 1971. Census Tract 44 has an average household income of $7,262 and is the fifth lowest income area in the City. However, the presence of a high-rise residential area in the eastern portion of the Tract and the pockets of middle income wage earners in enumeration areas 122 and 123 in the north-central region of C.T. 44 tend to influence the average income level in an upward manner (TABLE 3).

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[1] While Census Tracts 33 and 55 are the third and fourth lowest income areas in Edmonton, they were not included in the study due to time limitations.

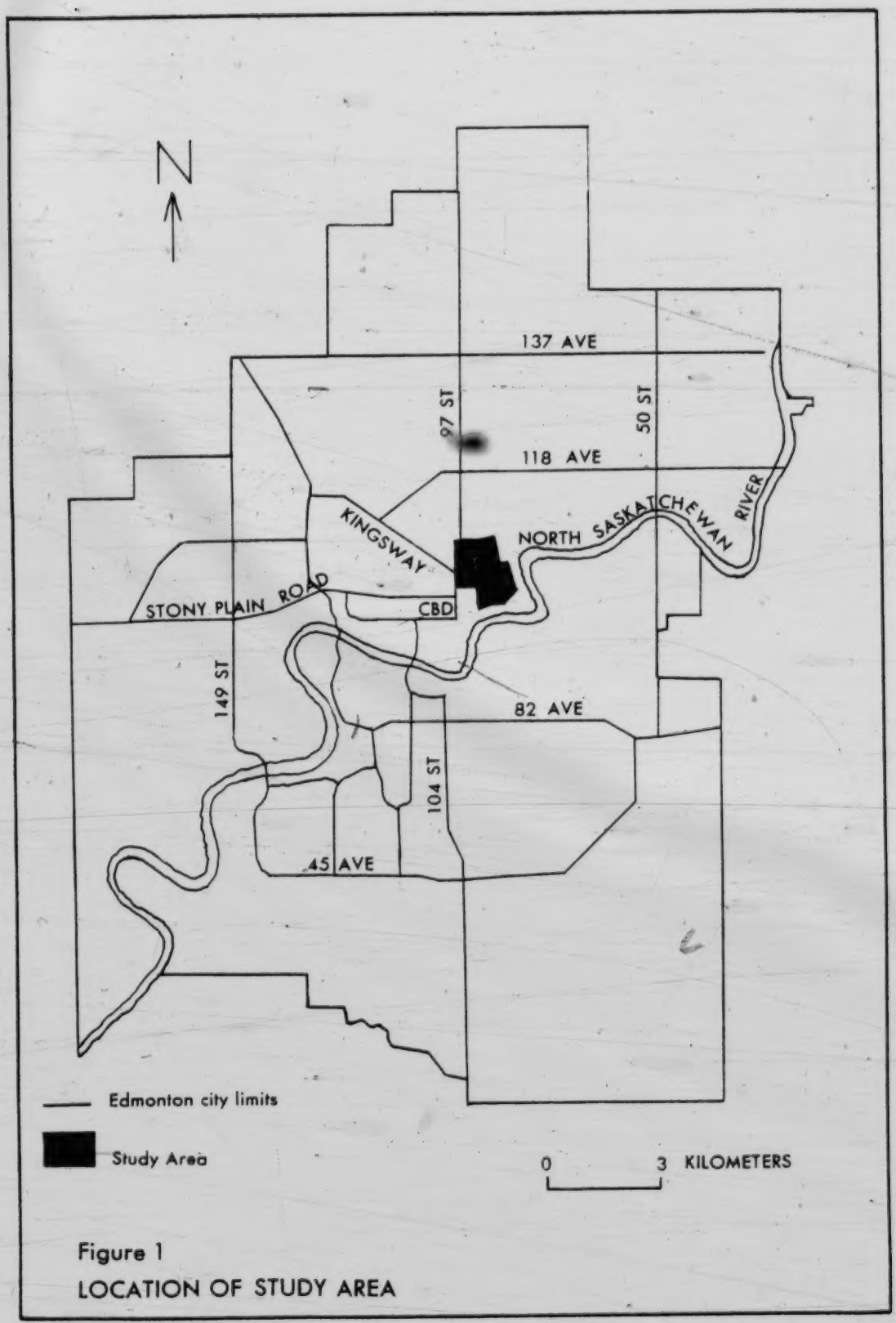

Figure 1
LOCATION OF STUDY AREA

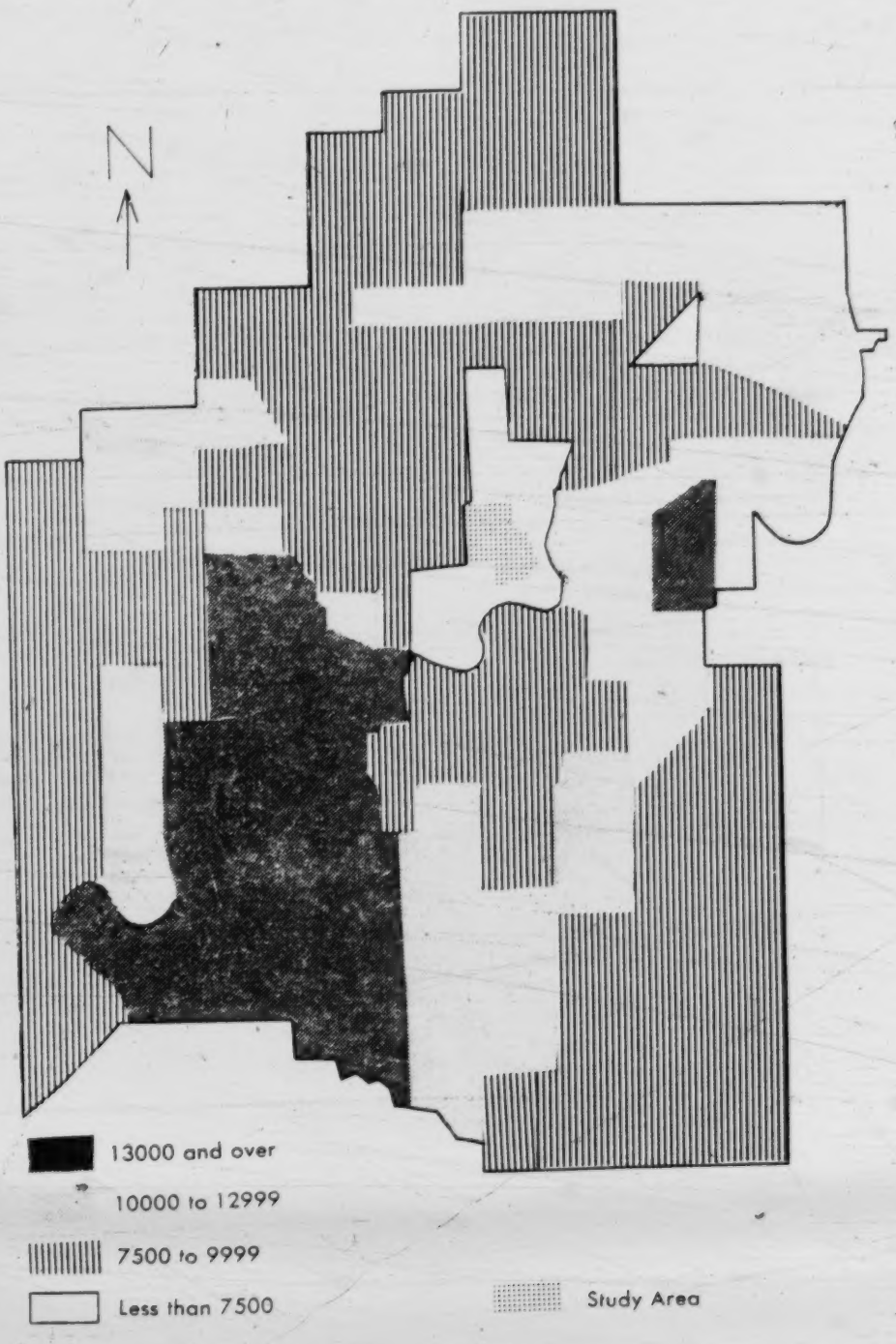

Figure 2

INCOME LEVELS IN EDMONTON, 1971

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971

The boundaries for this study were established in 1976 (based on income data from the 1971 Census) and were chosen because they enclosed an area containing a large proportion of Edmonton's lowest income residents. These boundary delimitations coincide with those established by the City administration for the Boyle Street/McCauley Plan in 1977 (City of Edmonton, 1978a).

According to McCann, Boyle Street is "...Edmonton's nearest approach to a slum and supports the highest population densities in the city despite the absence of (highrise) apartments" (McCann, 1972: 24).[2] While the McCauley area is generally considered to be less blighted than Boyle Street (Edmonton Inter-Faith Society, 1975; City of Edmonton, 1978a), it is recognized as being a low rent inner city residential community and has traditionally been the reception area for immigrants to Edmonton. As well as containing a diversity of population (the elderly, transients, skid row and single parent households), the Boyle Street/McCauley area encompasses a wide range of land uses including commercial/commercial strip developments, major transportation facilities, heavy industry, warehousing and light manufacturing (FIGURE 3). The area is presently under study by the City's Planning Department with the major considerations being the development pressures being exerted as the CBD expands eastward, incompatible land uses within the area, and the sociological problems encountered by the diverse and largely poverty stricken population (City of Edmonton, 1978a).

SAMPLING METHOD

Once the general outline of the Study Area was established, it

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[2] In 1971, C.T. 32, a modern high-rise community to the west of the CBD had the highest population density in the City at 16,400 persons per square mile. C.T. 44 was second at 13,000 per square mile. C.T.'s 34 and 45 had population densities of 7,100 and 12,100 respectively.

Figure 3 COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LAND USES WITHIN THE STUDY AREA

SCALE 1:6000

was then possible to exclude certain areas on the basis of income. Even though the Study Area is generally made up of low income residents, certain pockets within the area contain households whose incomes are very near the City average according to the 1971 Census Data. It was possible to identify those areas by analysing the Enumeration Areas (EN) which are a further breakdown of the Census Tracts (FIGURE 4). As well, certain portions of C.T. 34 were excluded because they were located in the neighbourhood of Riverdale in the North Saskatchewan River Valley and within the CBD and were therefore felt to lie outside the Boyle Street/McCauley neighbourhoods.

TABLE 3: ENUMERATION (EN) AREAS EXCLUDED FROM THE STUDY

C.T. 34: EN	INCOME (1971)	C.T 44: EN	INCOME (1971)
54	--	117	7,385
55	4,555	122	8,715
56	9,740	123	9,135
57	7,895	125	10,155
101	7,620	151	7,110
102	6,810	152	6,115
103	8,025	153	7,000
104	4,845	154	9,445

(source: Statistics Canada)

When the areas indicated in Table 3 were excluded from the study, the average household income for C.T. 34 fell to $5,028 and to $6,745 for C.T. 44.

Households where chosen for interviews randomly. Every third household was approached and an interview, lasting about twenty minutes, was requested (APPENDIX). In the event of a refusal (a 50 per cent refusal rate was recorded, see FIGURE 5) or failure to find anyone home, the next residence was approached until an interview was achieved. A total of 205 respondents were interviewed during the months of March and April in 1977.

In some instances it was not possible to gain access to potential

Figure 4
ENUMERATION AREAS

SCALE
1:6000

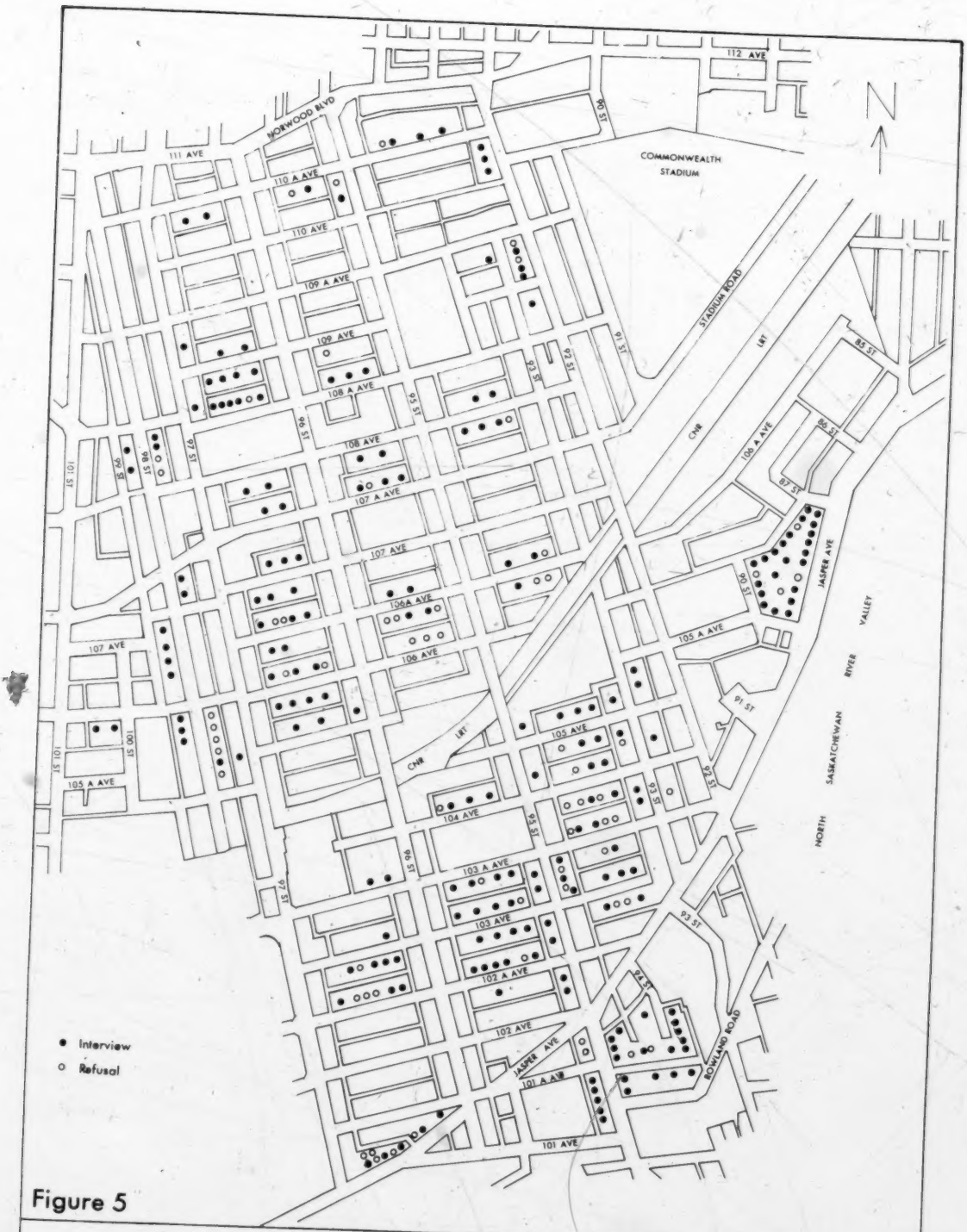

Figure 5

HOMES OF RESPONDENTS

SCALE 1:6000

respondents particularly in the case of rooming houses, apartment buildings and the upper floors of commercial establishments. For this reason, it is felt that the elderly, single male is somewhat under-represented. As well, no attempt was made to interview the skid row transient element of the population who have no permanent residence and rely from day to day on the services provided by social service agencies such as the Single Men's Hostel and the Salvation Army. Another problem was posed by language barriers as the unilingual interviewer was unable to communicate with non-English speaking residents, particularly the Chinese and the Portuguese. As a result, these ethnic groups are also under-represented in the sample data.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA AND SAMPLE DATA

The following section is a description of the population characteristics of the Study Area with comparisons being made with Statistics Canada Census Data (1971 and 1976), the 1977 Civic Census and the Sample Data wherever possible.[3]

The total population of the Study Area as defined above is 10,150 or 4,100 households. The 205 households interviewed represent 5 per cent of the total. The immediate outstanding population characteristics of the Study Area which set it apart from the rest of the City are the numbers of adults, particularly the elderly segment of the population, and the preponderance of males. According to the 1977 Civic Census, approximately

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[3] A word of caution: The last complete census was taken in 1971 and is now badly dated. As well, the accuracy of the Census Data for the area is sometimes questionable. For example, the 1971 data indicates the absence of Native people in EN 116 although both the present study and another study (Edmonton Inter-Faith Society, 1975) encountered significant numbers of Native people in the Highland Court complex. The major problem appears to be the difficulty enumerators encounter in trying to get personal information from this element of the population (City of Edmonton, 1978b).

86 per cent of the Boyle Street population and 80 per cent of the McCauley population are in the adult age bracket of 18 years or more compared to an overall City figure of 72 per cent. Whereas the City average for persons over 65 years of age is 6.2 per cent, the average for McCauley is 16 per cent and 23 per cent for Boyle Street.[4] While males make up 65 per cent and 61 per cent of Boyle Street and McCauley respectively, the adult population of Edmonton is split almost 50/50 (City of Edmonton, 1978b).

Because the age of each member of the household was not recorded it is not possible to make a detailed age-sex comparison between the data collected for this study and the existing census data. This problem is further complicated by the different age categories employed in this study and in the census data. However, general comparisons can be made and consistencies noted between the study data and the census data in Table 4.

TABLE 4: BOYLE STREET/McCAULEY AGE STRUCTURES

STUDY DATA		1977 CIVIC CENSUS	
65 and over	19.6%	66 and over	15.2%
55 - 64	9.3	51 - 65	15.7
45 - 54	12.7	36 - 50	16.3
35 - 44	15.6	18 - 35	33.1
25 - 34	23.4	0 - 17	19.7
16 - 24	19.5		

The fact that 60 per cent of the respondents were female is not a reflection of the true demographic character of the Study Area but rather the result of a higher proportion of homemakers being interviewed while

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[4] Within the Study Area, the age and ethnic structure varies somewhat with McCauley generally containing more families with children and Boyle Street being characterized by a more elderly population. A more complete breakdown by EN's has been compiled elsewhere (Edmonton Inter-Faith Society, 1975) and will not be attempted here.

the husband was at work. As well, it may be an indication of the higher proportion of female headed households (4.1 per cent of the area's households) who take advantage of the area's lower cost of housing, availability of public transportation and the convenience of the City Center (City of Edmonton, 1978b).

The predominance of males within the Study Area (63.4 per cent of the total adult population) is felt to be a major reason for the high proportion of one person households (53.5 per cent of the area's households). These types of households are concentrated in areas containing a large number of commercial establishments where the elderly single men live in rooms above the stores (City of Edmonton, 1978b). The study data appears to under represent these single person households and to over represent married couples (TABLE 5). This is accounted for by the difficulty in gaining access to the upper floors of commercial establishments and rooming houses.

TABLE 5: HOUSEHOLD TYPES IN BOYLE STREET/McCAULEY

	STUDY DATA	1977 CIVIC CENSUS
Married couples	50.7%	34.6%
Single parent households	10.2	4.2
One person households	25.4	53.5
Unrelated people sharing accomodations	13.7	7.7

The above fact further distorts the number of children represented. Although the 1977 Civic Census states that 17.2 per cent of the area's population is under 17 years of age (compared to 28.0 per cent for the City), the total number of children in the 205 households interviewed accounts for 32.7 per cent of the total household members. However, the average number of persons per household for the sample (3.2) is identical

to that figure shown in the 1971 Census. The average number of persons per household for the City is 3.6.

Another distinctive demographic characteristic of the Study Area is the ethnic composition although, according to the 1971 Census, 64.1 per cent of the residents were born in Canada. Boyle Street and McCauley have traditionally been the settlement areas for a number of immigrant groups to Edmonton and a number of commercial services have been developed to serve these groups (City of Edmonton, 1978a). The two most obvious examples are the restaurants, grocery stores and gift shops which serve the Chinese community in Boyle Street and the Italian population in McCauley. As well, the Native people make up a significant proportion of the population in comparison to the City as a whole (TABLE 6).

TABLE 6: ETHNIC ORIGINS (1971 CENSUS)

	BOYLE STREET	McCAULEY	EDMONTON
British	27.6%	20.0%	44.2%
Ukranian	15.0	22.0	13.3
Italian	7.5	15.0	2.0
German	6.2	6.1	12.4
Polish	5.6	7.5	3.5
Asian	13.7	4.8	2.1
Native	4.3	3.2	less than 1 per cent

TABLE 7: PLACE OF BIRTH - SAMPLE DATA (source: Statistics Canada)

Canada	72.6%
Eastern Europe	8.3
Western Europe	4.9
British Isles	2.0
Italy	2.9
South America	3.4
Orient	2.0

The majority of those interviewed (72.6 per cent, TABLE 7) were Canadian born with 23.5 per cent of that group falling under the broad

classification of "Native" (17.1 per cent of the total respondents). This figure is considerably higher than that given by the 1971 Census and is probably the result of grouping Indians, Inuit and Metis into one category. This was done due to the immense difficulty in establishing the respondent's true racial origin and is justified by the fact that both Indians and Metis experience similar difficulties when attempting to adjust to the predominantly white-Canadian urban culture (Dosman, 1972). This figure also lends support to Dosman's contention that the Native and Metis population have been arriving in Canadian inner cities in large numbers during recent years.

INCOMES

The original intention of this thesis was to study low income or poverty level consumers. Steps were taken, as outlined earlier, to avoid including non-poverty residents. However, the assumption that all the residents of the delimited Study Area would be poverty level proved to be false. When the information was analysed, it was found that 40 per cent of the households were not below the poverty line established by Statistics Canada. These residents ranged from laborers, such as oil rig workers who worked a few months of the year often earning between $10,000 and $20,000 and then residing in the Study Area during their extended holidays, to office managers and homeowners who sublet part of their homes and lived off the proceeds which were often supplemented with other sources of income such as pensions. It was decided that rather than discarding this substantial amount of data, comparisons would be made between the poverty level and non-poverty level consumers thus offering a unique opportunity to observe the behavior of two income groups who were being served by the same retail structure. In this way, the study evolved from being a descrip-

tive study of one group to a comparative study involving two distinct income groups.

The major difficulty associated with delimiting income groups was that of obtaining income figures in absolute terms. The respondents proved to be notoriously reluctant to divulge their actual incomes. However, it was discovered that they were willing to say whether their income levels were above or below a certain level. A figure of $9,000 was the adopted arbitrary cut-off level because a family of four with a household income of $9,000 would be living in poverty according to Statistics Canada (TABLE 1). This figure, of course, was not a useful guideline for smaller households and other methods had to be adopted. For example, a retired individual whose sole source of income was his pension, including the Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement provided by the Alberta Government, would have received, in 1977, an income of $2,650.[5] This is well below the income of $4,446 needed in order for a single individual to escape poverty. Similarly, a single mother with two children whose source of income was social assistance would receive about $5,000.[6] By employing these methods and others, such as levels of skill, occupation of income provider(s), number of dependents, and number of months worked per year, it was possible to conclude, with reasonable accuracy given the circumstances, whether or not the household was above or below the revised poverty cut-off line employed by Statistics Canada.

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[5] The pension figure was obtained through a telephone call to the Alberta Social Services and Community Health Department.

[6] The $5,000 figure was arrived at by indexing the 1976 rate of $4,500 (A Guide to Social Assistance, Alberta Social Services and Community Health, 1976) with an annual inflation rate of 10 per cent.

Of the 123 households which were identified as being below the poverty level, the household head was unemployed in 13 per cent of the cases, on social assistance in 26 per cent of the cases, seasonally employed (23.6 per cent), employed year round (4.9 per cent) and 29.3 per cent of the poverty level household heads were pensioners. The majority of those who were above the poverty line were employed full time (78.0 per cent), 8.5 per cent were seasonally employed, 8.5 per cent were pensioners, and 2.4 per cent were unemployed at the time of the interview. Other significant characteristics of the poverty level household heads are indicated in Tables 8 to 12. The low income respondents tended to have considerably lower formal educations (TABLE 8) and there is a strong relationship between youthfulness and elderliness of the household head and low income (TABLE 9). The great majority of female-headed households were considered to be low income (TABLE 10) and many of these were single parent families (TABLE 11). Finally, the Native households made up a significant proportion of the poverty level households (TABLE 12).

TABLE 8: EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY INCOME

EDUCATION	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
0 - 8	65	53.3	19	22.9	84
9 - 11	33	27.0	26	31.3	59
12 or Technical	16	13.1	28	33.7	44
University	8	6.6	10	12.1	18
Total	122	100	83	100	205

$x^2 = 22.92$, d.f. = 3, P = 0.001

TABLE 9: AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY INCOME

AGE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
16 - 20	7	5.7	1	1.2	8
21 - 24	10	8.1	10	12.2	20
25 - 34	21	17.1	28	34.1	49
35 - 44	21	17.1	15	18.3	36
45 - 54	17	13.8	15	18.3	32
55 - 64	13	10.6	5	6.1	18
65 - 74	24	19.5	7	8.5	31
75 and over	10	8.1	1	1.2	11
Total	123	100	82	100	205

$\chi^2 = 19.44$, d.f. = 7, P = 0.01

TABLE 10: SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY INCOME

SEX	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Female	43	34.9	7	8.5	50
Male	80	65.1	75	91.5	155
Total	123	100	82	100	205

$\chi^2 = 17.22$, d.f. = 1, P = 0.01

TABLE 11: TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME

TYPE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Married couples	40	32.5	64	78.0	104
Single parent households	24	19.5	2	2.4	26
One person households	44	35.8	8	9.8	52
Unrelated people sharing accomodation	15	12.2	8	9.8	23
Total	123	100	82	100	205

$\chi^2 = 44.80$, d.f. = 3, P = 0.01

TABLE 12: RACE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY INCOME

RACE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
White	87	71.3	69	83.1	156
North American Indian	30	24.6	5	6.0	35
Other *	5	4.1	9	10.8	14
Total	123	100	82	100	205

*Latin American, Oriental, East Indian

$\chi^2 = 14.14$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.01

It has been demonstrated that the majority of the sample respondents in the Study Area are low income or poverty level as defined by Statistics Canada. As well, the demographic characteristics of the low income group are similar to those described by Statistics Canada such as low levels of education, young and elderly family heads, female-headed households, pensioners, and Native people. It has also been shown, by comparison with existing Census Data, that the sample is reasonably representative of the area's

population with the exception of the Chinese, Portuguese and possibly the elderly, single male.

The next topic to be discussed is the commercial or retail structure of the Study Area. This is important because if the consumer spatial behavior of the respondents is to be understood, it is neccessary to be aware of the type of shopping facilities that are available for them to interact with.

COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE

One important characteristic of the Study Area is its close proximity to Edmonton's Central Business District. This is of particular importance when discussing the commercial structure of the area as many functions in the area may be an extension of the CBD and are therefore geared to serve the city as a whole and are not simply serving the residents residing in the Study Area.

The CBD is generally considered to be that central area of the city which contains the maximum vertical development of office buildings, the largest department stores, and numerous recreational, financial and entertainment facilties (Yeates and Garner, 1971). In his research, Bannon (1967) declared the eastern boundary of Edmonton's CBD to be 100A Street. Later, Plunkett (1972) decided to adopt the City of Edmonton Planning Department's area delimitation which established the eastern boundary of the CBD at 97 Street and the northern boundary at the Canadian National Railway (C.N.R.) tracks. He concluded that this delimited "....an area in central Edmonton which included the CBD and an undefined area on the fringes of the district" (Plunkett, 1972: 13).

In many respects the Study Area resembles the frame of the CBD as described by Horwood and Boyce (1959). The frame is said to be semi-intensive in land use, has an extended horizontal scale and tends to extend into areas

of dilapidated housing. It is characterized by vacant lots often utilized as off-street parking, automobile sales and related services, and inter-city transportation facilities and terminals. Although it is possible to make distinctions between the frame and the core of the CBD, the boundary separating them is difficult to determine exactly and they should be thought of as gradually merging into each other. It should also be noted that some of the uses within the frame have important linkages with complementary activities in the core.

> This is particularly true of warehousing, a wide range of business services such as printing, and of course the facilities that transport people and goods to and from the concentration of activities in the core. Thus, although the core and the frame are two distinct and independent functional areas, they do not stand entirely apart, they are to a certain extent integrated functionally (Yeates and Garner, 1971: 323).

Preston (1968) has referred to the frame as the "transition zone" and has stated that the expansion of the zone is restricted by natural barriers. These barriers may exist in the form of rivers and steep slopes or by areas of homogeneous land uses such as public open spaces, railway yards, residential areas and heavy industrial districts.

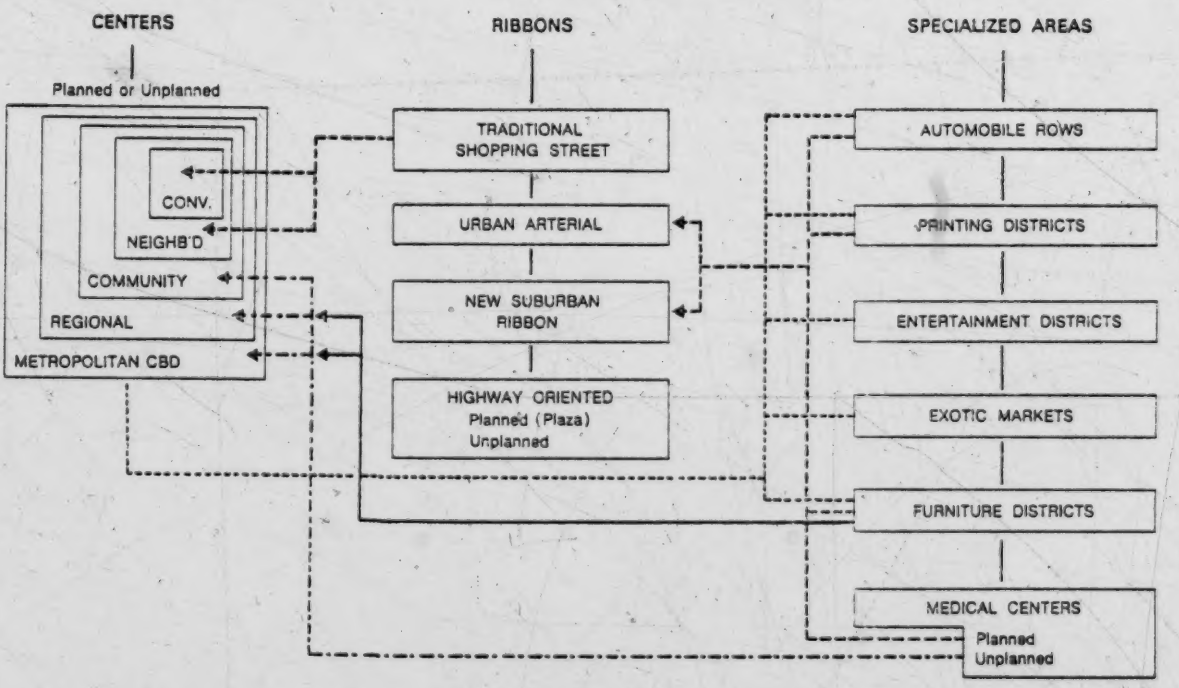
Within the Study Area are found auto sales and related services such as transmission and auto repair shops, printing shops and related office services, and warehouses, light manufacturing and some industrial establishments (FIGURE 3). The latter functions are located along the C.N.R. tracks and range from scrap metal yards to the G.W.G. clothing manufacturers. As well, the North Saskatchewan River Valley to the south, Clark and Commonwealth Stadiums to the east, the railway tracks and the Norwood residential neighborhood to the north appear to act as barriers to the expansion of this frame or zone of transition.

While it may be useful to refer to the Study Area's relationship

to the CBD and the resulting influences exerted upon it, it is perhaps more useful to describe the commercial development with respect to the area's internal structure. In order to understand the significance of this internal development it is necessary to briefly mention some of the findings of other researchers. It is then possible to make comparisons with the Study Area and to see what characteristics of the commercial structure are the dominant features.

It is felt that there are three major components to the urban business pattern: shopping centers, either planned or unplanned, ranging in size from the three or four functions associated with the convenience center to the actual CBD; ribbons or linear commercial developments found along arterials; and specialized areas such as automobile rows or entertainment districts (FIGURE 6).

FIGURE 6: MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE URBAN BUSINESS PATTERN



(Source: Berry, 1963; Table 2)

Berry (1963) has noted that a hierarchy of shopping centers in low income areas is different from the hierarchy found in middle and upper income areas of a city. Low income areas lack both the highest level regional centers and many of the community-level centers. Instead they have a higher proportion of smaller low-level centers. The lower level of purchasing power, and perhaps the lower levels of personal mobility, tend to eliminate the larger centers that provide a greater variety of goods, more specialized stores, and a greater opportunity for a full range of shopping choice. As well, shopping centers in low income neighborhoods are usually unplanned with planned centers existing only in redevelopment areas. Although unplanned centers differ little in function from planned centers they are by no means comparable in terms of design. "Usually one or two stores are constructed and subsequently new businesses are added, with little consideration being given to their aesthetic appeal, either individually or as a group" (Cook, 1972: 56).

Cook (1972) has established that no planned shopping centers exist in the older areas of Edmonton and are found only in the newer suburban developments. A survey of the Study Area reveals that no unplanned centers at the regional, community or neighborhood levels exist and only three free-standing unplanned convenience centers are present. A survey of the Study Area also reveals that there are no real concentrations of specialized activities other than the manufacturing-warehousing area along the C.N.R. tracks and the Chinese stores which carry exotic goods. Although shopping centers and specialized areas are not as evident within the Study Area, linear developments occur and appear to dominate the commercial structure.

Berry (1959) has described a morphology of ribbon developments and his classification of Urban Arterials and Traditional Shopping Streets, in

particular, would seem to fit well within the commercial structure of the Study Area (FIGURE 7),

FIGURE 7: SELECTED FUNCTIONS TYPICAL OF VARIOUS TYPES OF RIBBONS

Highway-Oriented Ribbons Gas stations Restaurants Motels Fruit and produce stands	(Automobile service districts)
Urban Arterials Building services and supplies Lumberyards Miscellaneous repairs Radio-TV sales and repairs	(Space-consuming service districts)
Automobile repairs Bars Shoe repairs Furniture Automobile accessories Appliances Fuel dealers Gift and novelty stores Food lockers Florists	(Urban-arterial oriented)
Traditional Shopping Streets Groceries Laundromats Bakeries Restaurants Personal services	(Neighborhood streets)
Missions **Second-hand stores** **Bars and liquor stores** **Rooming houses**	(Skid Rows)

(Source: Berry, 1959; Table 1)

Functions that locate along urban arterials have two general characteristics in that they are often large consumers of space (building supplies, car sales) and they are often associated with an infrequent demand calling for an occasional special-purpose trip (appliance repairs, florists). Although these activities need locations offering reasonable access to a large urban market, they are generally unable to pay the higher rents for sites within shopping centers or at the intersections of major arterials. Consequently, they function best where rent is lower and as a

result often form a continuation of commercial property along well travelled arterials. Unlike a shopping center, there is normally little linkage between the business types which can be best described as free-standing with common arterial locations (Berry, 1959). However, some activites, such as car sales, may benefit from a certain amount of complementarity.

Traditional shopping streets, which are said to be a distinctive feature of older parts of North American cities (Yeates and Garner, 1971), may be similar in structure to other ribbon developments, but functionally they are similar to lower level shopping centers. Business types such as grocery stores, laundromats, drugstores and barber shops constitute small clusters of low-order convenience goods and services that are interjected into the arterial ribbons at major intersections. These sometimes form skid rows which are characterized by second-hand stores, bars and rooming houses (Berry, 1959).

Ribbon developments in Edmonton have not been extensively studied with the exception of Whyte Avenue (Chow-Li, 1970; Johnson and Chow-Li, 1972; Martin, 1974). The City's Planning Department (City of Edmonton, 1973) carried out a study of what they considered to be the eleven major ribbons in Edmonton and concluded that they were too diversified to be classified according to Berry's scheme. In relation to the present Study Area, the planners identified 111 Avenue (Norwood Boulevard Commercial Strip) between 101 Street and 91 Street as being a ribbon. They found this strip to contain no dominant clustering of business types. Rather,

> The majority of businesses are either convenience uses, catering to local residents, warehouse and industrial type uses that do not rely on pedestrian or passing automobile traffic, or automobile-oriented uses such as used car sales. The area also is a place for beginning or marginal businesses, such as pawn shops, second-hand stores, and wholesale outlets (City of Edmonton, 1973: 41).

The report makes no reference to any other ribbon developments in the area although Cook (1972) has identified 97 Street and Jasper Avenue as ribbons.

Table 13 indicates the type and number of activities found along the shopping streets within the Study Area. One hundred and First Street (101 Street) is characterized by a number of car sales and automobile related services as well as several miscellaneous services ranging from a gun repair shop to drafting supplies. Ninety-Seventh Street (97 Street) north of the railway tracks to 111 Avenue contains a diversity of functions and is similar to 111 Avenue as described in the planners' study. South of the railway tracks are novelty and second-hand stores, two larger discount department stores (Army and Navy and W.W. Arcade) and a two block area containing Chinese import stores and restaurants.

Jasper Avenue east of 97 Street resembles a "skid row" with its beer parlor, second-hand stores and rooming houses with a few Chinese import stores interspersed. Past 96 Street, Jasper Avenue takes on the characteristics of an urban arterial with auto related services and sales, dry cleaners and a furniture store. Ninety-Sixth Street (96 Street) between the railway tracks and Jasper Avenue may also be classed as a skid row with its beer parlours, pawn shops and rooming houses. In addition to these skid row functions are labor recruiters and tax discounters. Labor recruiters rely on the transient labor force common within the area. They pay these people the minimum wage and then sell their services to businesses that need temporary workers in return for a fee that may be as much as double the minimum wage. Tax discounters buy T-4 slips from individuals who in turn sign the power of attorney over to the discounter. In this way, the discounter is entitled to the tax refund from the Department of National Revenue. The individual selling his T-4 slips receives, on the average,

TABLE 13: FUNCTIONS PRESENT ON THE VARIOUS SHOPPING STREETS

TYPE	101 STREET	97 STREET	96 STREET	95 STREET	111 AVENUE	JASPER AVENUE
Appliance sales and services	1	2	--	1	3	--
Auto sales	5	--	1	--	3	2
Auto accessories, repairs and gas	10	5	2	--	10	7
Barber and Beauty	1	5	--	--	--	1
Beer Parlours	--	1	4	--	--	1
Building supplies and related services	1	4	--	2	4	--
Chinese Import Stores	--	12	--	--	--	5
Department Stores	--	2	--	--	--	--
Drugstores	1	2	--	--	2	1
Entertainment	1	--	--	1	1	3
Funeral parlours and related services	1	--	--	--	1	1
Furniture Stores	1	1	--	--	--	2
Gift and Novelty Stores	1	2	1	1	1	1
Grocery Stores and Meat Markets	2	11	2	4	3	4
Hardware Stores	--	1	--	--	1	--
Labor recruiters	1	--	2	--	--	1
Laundry and dry cleaning	1	2	2	1	2	2
Miscellaneous sales and supply	14	10	1	3	12	5
Personal services (banks, professional)	6	26	--	1	11	--
Restaurants, Drive-Ins	7	11	3	3	4	3
Second-hand stores and pawn shops	1	10	4	4	7	3
Tax discounters	--	1	4	--	--	3
Total	55	107	26	21	65	45

less than one-half of his entitled refund with the full amount going to the tax discounter (Alberta Consumer and Corporate Affairs, 1977).

Finally, the area on 95 Street between 109 Avenue and 107A Avenue is a three block strip which contains grocery stores, a number of second-hand shops and a few specialized services such as T.V. sales and service and carpet and drapery stores. This area contains a concentration of Italian-Canadians and this is reflected by the Italian stores and restaurants, including a sidewalk cafe.

It would appear, therefore, that the lack of shopping centers in the area, other than unplanned convenience centers, is a result of the presence of shopping streets which serve the function of lower level shopping centers. As well, the area's close proximity to the CBD, the low income clientele and the difficulty in assembling land which is already high priced (City of Edmonton, 1973) may discourage the development of larger, planned shopping centers.

The last aspect of the Study Area which is of interest in the present study is the presence of grocery stores. More specifically, the pricing practices of these stores who serve the low income clientele are briefly discussed in the following section.

GROCERY STORES

American researchers who have investigated consumer behavior in low income areas have noted the lack of supermarkets. Instead, the grocery trade is served by small independent corner stores. These small "moms and pops" that operate in deprived areas are said to charge from 7 to 21 per cent more for a market basket than do the supermarkets that locate in the more affluent areas (Sturdivant, 1968).

A survey of the Study Area, however, reveals that two large

supermarkets (Canada Safeway Limited) are present along with twenty-five smaller grocery stores. Most of these are small corner stores (40 to 80 square meters) operated by husband and wife teams who usually have their residence in the back of the store. Three of the stores that cater to the Italian and Portuguese populations are somewhat larger (100 to 120 square meters) and feature two check-out counters.

In order to establish whether or not the small stores do in fact charge higher prices than the supermarkets, a price survey was carried out. Ten of the small stores were selected and the prices of five items were compared with the prices charged for identical items at Canada Safeway. The five items were chosen because they were stocked in all the stores surveyed so that comparisons could be made. Several items had to be dropped from the survey because many of the small stores either failed to stock them or only stocked certain package sizes. The five (milk, soup, ketchup, sugar and laundry detergent) were selected because they might reasonably be expected to be on the typical shopping list of the average shopper. The findings are shown on Table 14 and the small stores charged an average of 11.0 per cent more for the basket of goods than the Canada Safeways. The smallest difference was 3.8 per cent and the largest was 25.4 per cent. For individual items, milk showed the least difference in price with the Canada Safeway price while in one case ketchup was 41.8 per cent higher. It would appear, therefore, that grocery shoppers who patronize the small corner stores have to pay considerably more for their groceries and have a much more limited selection than those who shop at the larger supermarkets.

SUMMARY

Using the available Census Data, a low income area to the east

TABLE 14: GROCERY STORE PRICES FOR SELECTED ITEMS

Store	Homogenized Milk		Heinz Ketchup		Campbell's Tomato Soup		Alberta Sugar		Tide Detergent		Total	
	(1 litre)		(313 ml)		(284 ml)		(2 kg)		(1.5 litre)			
Safeway	.53		.67		.29		1.19		1.02		3.70	
	Corner Store Prices and Difference (%) with Safeway											
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
Alimentari	.54	+ 1.9	.69	+ 3.0	.35	+20.7	1.35	+13.4	1.00	- 2.0	3.93	+ 6.2
B & C Grocery	.54	+ 1.9	.72	+ 7.5	.31	+ 6.9	1.25	+ 5.0	1.02	0	3.84	+ 3.8
D & M Grocery	.55	+ 3.8	.79	+17.9	.33	+13.8	1.39	+16.8	1.09	+ 6.8	4.15	+12.2
Grocery Store	.55	+ 3.8	.75	+11.9	.33	+13.8	1.39	+16.8	1.09	+ 6.8	4.11	+11.1
Great-West Foods	.54	+ 1.9	.73	+ 9.0	.32	+10.3	1.49	+25.2	1.09	+ 6.8	4.17	+12.7
Serve-Rite Grocery	.54	+ 1.9	.75	+11.9	.30	+ 3.4	1.35	+13.4	1.05	+ 2.9	3.99	+ 7.8
Steve's Corner	.55	+ 3.8	.85	+26.9	.33	+13.8	1.39	+16.8	1.15	+12.7	4.27	+15.4
Uncle Paul's	.55	+ 3.8	.95	+41.8	.40	+27.5	1.39	+16.8	1.35	+32.4	4.64	+25.4
Unico Fine Foods	.54	+ 1.9	.69	+ 3.0	.29	0	1.29	+ 8.4	1.05	+ 2.9	3.86	+ 4.3
Western Groceries	.55	+ 3.8	.79	+17.9	.29	0	1.39	+16.8	1.10	+ 7.8	4.12	+11.4

of Edmonton's core has been identified. The majority of the area's residents can be considered to be living in poverty according to the guidelines established by Statistics Canada. Many of the elements associated with poverty such as low levels of education, young and elderly family heads, and female-headed households are readily apparent. The retail structure of the area is characterized by traditional shopping streets and skid rows with no planned centers. Many functions within the area are typical of the CBD frame such as auto related services and printing firms while others, such as tax discounters and labor recruiters, are unique to this part of Edmonton and find their clientele among the disadvantaged and deprived. In conclusion, the Study Area contains a large proportion of the City's poverty level residents who live in what can best be described as a blighted environment and who are faced with the threat of displacement due to development pressures. In the next chapter, the literature dealing with low income consumers and their behavior will be reviewed.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the preceding chapter, the Study Area was defined and the demographic and commercial characteristics of the area was discussed. It was shown that the area contained a predominately low income population, many of whom are living below the poverty line as defined by Statistics Canada. It was also shown that the area was served by many small stores and shops arranged along what can be termed as a traditional shopping street and that there was little evidence of the hierarchical shopping structure that is associated with the more modern suburban developments.

This chapter, then, contains a review of the research relating to low income shoppers and will enable us to recognize what factors contribute to the shopping patterns and behavior that are peculiar to the low income consumer. These studies, the majority of which have been carried out in the United States, have been undertaken by sociologists, psychologists, marketing and business administration researchers, as well as geographers.[1]

The studies are discussed according to three major sub-headings; social class, mobility, and spatial preferences. These are the three

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[1] Even though the Canadian and American cultures are somewhat different (Porter, 1967), Bell (1972) found that the American literature dealing with socio-economic market segmentation was applicable to consumer behavior in Edmonton.

basic concepts around which the research appears to have evolved. As well, other factors are discussed such as cultural influences and price discrimination against the poor. Finally, the low income elderly are briefly discussed because the shopping problems faced by this group are somewhat more severe as a result of their particular circumstances and this fact has received little attention from most researchers.

DO THE POOR PAY MORE ?

David Caplovitz's 1963 study was the first major report to deal with the shopping behavior and unique problems encountered by that segment of North American society which falls into the low income category. His study revealed a low income consumer living in a society where the purchase of goods is a method employed "...in order to win the respect of others and to maintain their own self-respect" (Caplovitz, 1963: 180). Caplovitz felt that because these people had little opportunity to base their self-respect and respect granted to them by others on occupational, educational, or other accomplishments, they adopt a pattern of "compensatory consumption". Since the poor cannot qualify for credit in what Caplovitz calls the "impersonal, bureaucratic economy", they are forced to make their major purchases from a group of merchants who are willing to accept great risk, often employing unethical and illegal practices. However, it was not only the fact that these merchants were willing to accept risk that gave them power in this special marketing environment. The fact that these merchants were able to personalize their services, unhampered by bureaucratic procedures, enabled them to attract patrons who would not normally meet the formal credit requirements of the more legitimate economy. Since many of the poor belong to minority social and ethnic groups, or what has been referred to as the more "tradition-

alistic" cultures, they are intimidated by the impersonality that prevades the major downtown stores.

> When they do venture into the more bureaucratic marketplace, some of these consumers, because of their manner, dress and language problems, find themselves greeted with suspicion rather than with carefully contrived courtesy (Caplovitz, 1963: 181).

In order to overcome these dysfunctions in the low income marketplace, Caplovitz concluded with two correlative kinds of action:

> 1) changing the consumer through education,
> 2) changing the marketing system through legislation (1963: 182).

SOCIAL CLASS AS A DETERMINANT OF SHOPPING BEHAVIOR

Social class or social stratification was first presented in a theoretical framework by Max Weber (1905). He developed a stratification model for industrialized societies where three distinct, but overlapping, levels of inequality existed. These were termed prestige classes (inequality of status), economic classes (inequality of income and wealth), and political classes (inequality of power). These statuses include such matters as family or ethnic lineage, amount and kind of education, occupation, the kind of neighborhood lived in and personal attributes such as racial traits, manners, speech and appearance. While there is clearly an interdependence and overlapping of these three dimensions, they provide a frame of reference for the study of many aspects of the social order including the life styles, attitudes, values and behavior of people. The major criticism of social class theory has been related to methodology, particularly the arbitrary method of selecting class boundaries.

Marketing researchers were quick to recognize that different

socio-economic groups behaved differently in their shopping behavior. The obvious implication here was that various types of stores could cater to a specific segment of the marketplace and thus improve their efficiency within the marketplace. This, of course, relates to site selection and it is this spatial connotation that was originally of interest to geographers.

Jonassen (1955), in a study of three American cities, found that older people and people of high socio-economic status were attracted towards the downtown while the young and the lower socio-economic groups were drawn to the suburban centers. He concluded that the upper income groups were able to overcome the inconvenience of the central business district, such as congestion and parking difficulties, in order to take advantage of a greater selection and quality of goods. On the other hand, he felt that lower income groups took advantage of the lower transportation costs and the ease of shopping with children that is associated with suburban shopping centers.

Rich (1963) found a similar pattern and attributed it in part to the fact that it was the fashion-concious shopper who frequented the downtown and it was the suburban bargain hunter who dealt at the suburban discount stores.

Martineau (1958) has stated that there is a social-class system operating in metropolitan markets. The far-reaching psychological differences between the various classes account for the differing consumption patterns. For example, prestige symbols are said to define class membership, and thus each major department store, furniture store, and grocery chain has a different "pulling power" on different status groups.

Rainwater et al. (1959) found that the wives of working class or "blue collar" men maintained certain attitudes and values that distinguished them from middle class women. Unlike the middle classs housewife who generally conveyed an attitude of optimism concerning her present and future lifestyle, the working class housewife was characterized by her search for social, economic and physical security and her drive for recognition and respectability. These motivations, in turn, were felt to play an important role in her shopping behavior and it was suggested that advertisers could enjoy greater success by appealing to these particular traits.

Levy (1968) has also recorded differences in shopping patterns of people from different social strata. Low income people are more likely to prefer local, face-to-face places where they feel they will get a friendly reception and credit, if need be. The upper middle class shopper shops more "purposefully and efficiently" than the lower class shopper. Levy's evidence, which was collected during interviews with shoppers, indicated that the upper middle class shoppers were more knowledgeable about what they want, where to get it, and thus their shopping is both more selective and wide ranging.

In his study of carpet purchases, Samli (1968) found that lower socio-economic groups shopped at discount houses, were concerned primarily with price, and were not likely to comparative shop. Meanwhile, upper socio-economic groups shopped at more exclusive specialty shops, paid more attention to selection and reputation, and tended to shop more comparatively in order to take advantage of the best selection and price. Goldman's study (1976) of furniture shoppers in Jerusalem revealed that low income shoppers engaged in less comparative shopping

than their higher income counterparts and knew of fewer stores. These findings are similar to a Canadian study where it was found that when shopping for furniture and appliances, the better educated, higher income people participated in more prepurchase shopping (Claxton, Fry and Porter, 1974).

SOCIAL CLASS AND SHOPPING BEHAVIOR FROM A SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

Geographers have found that distance is an important variable in studies of consumer behavior. For example, Gaylor's Vancouver study (1974) produced evidence indicating the inability or unwillingness of low income groups to travel considerable distances to shop. With regard to clothing purchases the upper middle class travelled an average distance of 8.7 kilometers while the lower class only travelled an average distance of 5.8 kilometers. Furniture shopping revealed an even greater difference with the upper income group travelling an average of 8.2 kilometers and the low income group travelling 4.3 kilometers. The average distances travelled for grocery purchases were 3.4 kilometers by the upper group and only 1.5 kilometers by the lower income group. However, this raises the question of whether the higher income groups are more willing to travel greater distances than the low income groups or whether the higher income, suburban classes must travel greater distances due to the lack of locational opportunity. For instance, with regard to grocery purchases, LaGarce (1974) noted that the compactness of the inner city area and the number of corner stores may result in shorter shopping trips.

In order to control for the distance factor, Davies (1968) studied two neighbourhoods in Leeds, Britain. Each neighbourhood contained a similar population in terms of age-structures and ethnic-

racial compositions. However, the household incomes in the first neighbourhood were double the household incomes of the second neighbourhood. In both cases, the neighbourhoods were equi-distant from the central business district (4.8 kilometers), each contained a major shopping center (28 and 40 functional units respectively), and each contained small commercial strips and scattered smaller shopping clusters. Davies found that the consumers in the low income area were much more heavily dependent on the smaller, low order levels of retail centers which were found in the area while the consumers from the high income area were found to move widely through the larger, higher order levels of retail centers found elsewhere in the city. Although distances to shop were not recorded, there did appear to be a distinct trend for the low income group to shop within the neighbourhood (81 per cent for groceries, 50 per cent for hardware products) when compared to the high income group (only 57 per cent shopped within their community for groceries and 23 per cent for hardware products). Davies concluded that the major explanation for these shopping characteristics lay in the fact that the higher income group had a much higher level of mobility because of the greater availability of cars and the fact that the women did not have to work to supplement meager incomes. Unfortunately, he does not present any figures regarding either the level of automobile ownership or the employment status of the women and therefore his conclusion is not verified.

In a similar British study where distances to and availability of shopping opportunities were equal for the two groups, Nader (1969) found the low income group more likely to shop for convenience goods at neighbourhood stores (57.1 per cent) than the higher income group (43.1 per

cent). Similarly, the low income group shopped locally for the majority of their shopping goods, whereas the high income group favoured the regional shopping centers (64.9 per cent compared to 43.0 per cent). Nader considered car ownership to be a major factor, particularly since 69.6 per cent of the high income group owned cars compared to only 26.6 per cent of the low income group.

An American study by Alexis, Simon, and Smith (1969) of food-buying behavior found that consumers in the lowest income groups tended to patronize independent neighbourhood stores while middle and upper income groups patronized the less expensive food chains. Again, this was attributed to the fact that lower income groups lack mobility due to the low level of automobile ownership. Besides lack of formal education, which the authors felt to be a factor in reducing purchasing sophistication and thereby causing consumers to shop closer to home, the low income shoppers tended to shop in stores offering delivery, credit, and telephone service.

Alexis et al. felt that these mobility related services (telephone and delivery) lent support to their contention that these consumers were restricted spatially. The need for credit reflected the obvious financial constraints experienced by this low income group.

Dixon and McLaughlin's Philadelphia study (1971) adds conformation to the preceding study. They found that even though a corporate chain supermarket was located in the low income study area, 95 per cent of the grocery shopping trips involved one of the neighborhood stores.

Goodman's study (1968) in the same city revealed that 92 per cent of the residents shopped outside the study area in the larger, less expensive supermarkets. However, Goodman's study area was somewhat more

affluent (median family income $4,000 - $5,000) than Dixon and McLaughlin's where the median family income was less than $3,900 and half the participants received welfare. As well, since there were major shopping thoroughfares within only a few blocks of the sample population, a factor not existing in Dixon and McLaughlin's study area, the usefulness of Goodman's findings are questionable (Andreasen, 1975: 45).

Kunreuther's research (1973) in New Haven gives further support to the above studies. While only 15 percent of the middle income families shopped at small neighbourhood stores, the corresponding figure for lower income families was 60 per cent. While practically all middle income families drove automobiles to grocery shop, a sizable proportion of the low income consumers (nearly two-thirds) either had to walk or use public transportation. This is reflected in the average distance travelled by each group: 3.0 kilometers for the low income group and 5.8 kilometers for the middle income group.

Johnson's Calgary study (1976) revealed similar findings:

> As a general comparison, Victoria Park respondents reflected their lower income and mobility by interacting with local stores...Mount Royal respondents reflected their higher income and mobility by choosing a great variety of stores in terms of locations and store type (Johnson, 1976: 226).

MOBILITY AS A FACTOR IN SHOPPING BEHAVIOR

Obviously mobility, or the lack of it, has been regarded as a major factor in many consumer behavior studies. In fact, some writers feel that the North American City, including the commercial structure, has been designed predominately for the middle and working classes leaving the poor underclass at a distinct disadvantage (Peet, 1970; Holly and Wheeler, 1972; Saltzman and Amadee, 1976; Koutsopoulos and Schmidt,

1976). The impetus of the automobile has resulted in a changing retail structure due to the importance of locational specialization and decentralization, much of it induced by the greatly increased mobility of the urban population. For those low income groups concentrated in the inner city and who do not have access to a private automobile, these trends create a hardship.[2] The decentralization of jobs and services as a result of suburban growth has not been followed by development of a convenient transit system that inner-city residents can use to reach desired work and nonwork destinations. Transit is still radially oriented and usually does not offer good service unless the destination or origin of travel is the central business district (Holly and Wheeler, 1972). Although many of the poor live in the inner city area and thus close to the central business district, few of these low income consumers take advantage of this proximity and tend to orient their shopping towards the periphery along the major arterials where shopping strips are found. Here, it is felt, small retail establishments are most likely to survive where low personal mobility assures support from a local market area (Holly and Wheeler, 1972). Andreasen (1975) has found in his research involving low income inner city Blacks that while the poor often use the downtown areas for specialty goods shopping (such as clothing), low-cost supermarkets and discount centers are seldom found there. To get to these outlets in the outlying shopping centers by public transportation, the poor typically would first have to go to the

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[2]For example, 1971 figures indicate in the United States that although only 20 per cent of all households were without a car, these figures rose to 35 per cent in the inner cities and to 46 per cent for those families earning under $3,000 (Saltzman and Amadee, 1976).

center of town and then back out to the shopping center. While some families without cars could conceivably make such trips, their time is constrained by the fact that all adult members (such as a single parent household) are working. As well, the presence of many young children in some families discourages extended shopping trips. For the elderly poor, physical infirmities and a general lack of energy make shopping a chore (Andreasen, 1975).

Paaswell and Berechman (1976) have found that the carless travel essentially as much as those with cars, but spend more time in transit and cover less distance. For example, when grocery shopping the carless travelled an average of .72 kilometers in 11.2 minutes compared to 1.76 kilometers in 9.9 minutes for those with cars. They concluded that the disadvantaged and their more advantaged counterparts reach and benefit from locational opportunities and in general have similar travel patterns. They do so, however, by adjusting in various ways to their particular situation. Although trips per day per person were found to be similar, the differential was in the allocation of trips to various activities. As can be expected, the distribution of these activities becomes less dispersed and more confined to the neighbourhood. This explained why the average cost per trip realized by the two groups was roughly the same. The more disadvantaged spend more time in travelling to nearer opportunities, thus replacing monetary costs with non-monetary costs. High priority trips (such as clothes and grocery shopping) are made as frequently by the disadvantaged, even when they are unemployed and carless. As access to a car increases, more trips are given higher priority (particularly with respect to parks and paid recreation) and become much more frequent (Paaswell and Berechman, 1976).

The mobility difficulties of the carless appear to be a constraint particularly when locational opportunities are lacking, such as the absence of a supermarket or discount store within a few minutes walking distance or when direct public transit links are missing. However, these constraints do not always account for the spatial patterns of the low income shopper. For example, mobility does not account for low income shoppers patronizing expensive corner stores when a supermarket is nearby or why the poor will purchase an appliance at outrageous interest rates. These factors involve other considerations which will be discussed in a later section.

SPACE PREFERENCES AND THE COGNITIVE-BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

A certain amount of research has been concerned with the spatial preferences of consumers and their attitudes towards the shopping environment or retail system. Unfortunately, it is a relatively new area of study and only a few studies have been conducted, many of which have nothing to do with low income consumers. However, it is still useful to review the cognitive-behavioral studies in order to gain clues as to what variables may be important in explaining low income consumer behavior.

Because central place theory and general interaction theory assumed that all consumers will act in a rational and generally similar way and failed to account for much of the variance in consumer spatial behavior, some researchers have investigated the so-called psycho-variables.

> Considerable differences in behavior between one individual and another may be seen because of differences in personality traits, differences in states of knowledge about the facilities available, differences in tastes and aspirations and so on (Davies, 1976: 224).

For instance, Kotler (1965) has classified consumers to be either Marshallian, Pavlovian, Freudian or Veblenian in outlook. The Marshal-

lian consumer will tend to adopt a least effort, maximizing satisfaction type of behavior, a Veblenian consumer will be very much influenced by his peer group and the Pavlovian type consumer will respond immediately to the introduction of a stimulus such as an exciting advertising display or pressure by a salesman. Given these attitudes towards purchasing, the spatial patterns of consumers would be expected to vary. Unfortunately, with the present state of the art, it would not be at all practical for the retailer to attempt to segment his market using the above criteria although certain writers would have us believe that nearly all advertising is designed to appeal to our subconscious, particularly our underlying sexual drives and attitudes (Key, 1972; 1976).

Stone (1954) distinguished between types of consumers using chain stores and small independent stores as those who are economic (or price conscious) types, personalizing (habit-bound or knowing-the-staff) types, ethical (support the "little" man) type, and apathetic (any store will do) type. Davies (1973) was able to isolate six sets of motivations similar to Stone's classification in a study in Coventry where housewives kept detailed dairies of daily shopping trips. However, an attempt to relate these different sets of motivations to different types of socio-economic households proved inconclusive.

Other researchers have used the individual's attitude towards a given set of stores in order to try and predict shopping patterns. It is felt that a consumer who has developed a positive attitude towards a stimulus location could be expected to be more disposed to interact with that stimulus location than with other stores towards which she possessed a neutral or negative attitude (Brown, 1974).

Garner introduced the semantic differential as an attitudinal

measuring device with which he felt certain qualitative aspects of stores could be differentiated (1968). Bruce (1970) was able to measure attitudes towards stores by using semantic opposites such as most friendly or unfriendly, most honest or dishonest, and most attractive or ugly. He found that housewives from higher social classes were more prone to rate supermarkets as unfriendly than those from the lower classes and that younger housewives tended to rate greengrocers as more dirty than older housewives. Downs (1970) found that the consumer's image of the shopping center was composed of eight cognitive categories and that the patronage decision was related to his attitude towards those categories.[3] As yet no research has been conducted to see which categories are the most important to the low income consumer or if differences among different socio-economic classes exist at all.

A major problem with the semantic differential for attitude measurement besides the problem of administering a relatively complex scale to respondents, particularly those of the lower socio-economic classes who tend to have had less formal education, is that of cognitive dissonance. That is, the respondents may be expressing their attitudes in terms of their behavior in order to achieve cognitive consistancy (Festinger, 1957). For example, an individual who shops regularly at a particular store may be reluctant to admit that it is dirty, high-priced or that the management may be dishonest. In her research involving attitudes of upper middle class housewives, Brown (1974) used an undifferentiated set

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[3]The image of the shopping center was composed of eight cognitive categories: -- retail establishment factors 1) quality of service, 2) price of goods, 3) shopping hours, 4) range and quality of goods, -- shopping mall factors 5) structure and design, 6) internal pedestrian movement, 7) visual appearance, 8) traffic conditions (Downs, 1970).

of scales rather than categorized sets in order to overcome the problem of cognitive dissonance.

Another approach has been to measure the consumer's knowledge of the retail system. Horton and Reynolds (1971) have developed the notion of individual action spaces and individual activity spaces to distinguish those parts of the retail environment familiar to the consumer from the actual distribution of facilities that may be found.[4] It was felt that the level of consumer's knowledge of the retail system may be related to his shopping patterns and behavior. Although not concerned with where the respondent did his shopping, Smith (1974) found a relationship between number of grocery stores known and the length of residence as well as socio-economic status. Employing Horton and Reynolds' theory of cognitive development,[5] Smith found that the greater the individual's length of residence and the higher his social status, the greater the imagery field or number of stores known. Smith concluded that the length of

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[4]The action space refers in precise terms to those facilities for which a consumer may have some knowledge of and may potentially interact with according to his personal preferences. The activity space refers to those facilities which he regularly visits on a day-to-day or weekly basis (Horton and Reynolds, 1971).

[5]The spatial imagery field (the cognitive image of the urban spatial structure) is defined as the mental information that an individual holds of the spatial distribution of a specific set of environmental elements (grocery stores were the environmental elements in Smith's study). The three stages of development of the spatial imagery field are:

1) Distance Bias Stage - Nodes near the residence are "learned" first, then those at increasing distances.
2) Community Socialization Stage - The distance bias increases as the individual learns of other potentially satisfactory elements within the city, particularly through indirect contact.
3) Spatial Equilibium Stage - The cognitive image is relatively stable (Horton and Reynolds, 1971: 37).

residence findings confirmed Horton and Reynolds' model and that the relationship with social status was indicative of the smaller scale of spatial interaction that is characteristic of low status individuals. He also suggests that such socio-economic attributes as occupation and education levels may, in fact, be indicators or correlates of an individual's mental ability to store and recall environmental information. In other words low status people, and there is a strong correlation between low social status and low income, may have an inherent disadvantage when it comes to familiarizing themselves with the shopping opportunities in their neighbourhood. Still, little is known about the patronage decision and the development of habitual shopping behavior although Golledge (1967) states that the average grocery shopper takes about three weeks to form an habitual pattern while Bell (1970) suggests that many shoppers will select a supermarket within one week of arriving at their new residence.

Goldman (1976) has also used the level of the consumer's knowledge about the store system, combined with the level of prepurchase shopping the consumer engages in, in order to measure the consumer's "shopping scope". As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, Goldman found that the low income shoppers in his study knew of fewer stores and engaged in less comparative shopping and thus concluded that the lower socio-economic group had a more limited shopping scope. With regard to grocery shopping, LaGarce (1974) has also noted that the inner city poor of the United States have a lower shopping scope that the higher classes. However, he feels that this may in part be due to habit because of the compactness of the inner city area and the number of corner stores. Even among the poor, he found some with wide shopping scopes. Wide shopping scope was associated with greater education, youthfulness, long-

term residency in the area, purchasing for long range consumption, and patronage factors other than store location. Narrow shopping scope was associated with less education, elderliness, short-term residency, lack of long-range purchasing, and patronage of stores due principally to location.

CULTURAL AND OTHER INFLUENCES IN SHOPPING BEHAVIOR

Coleman (1963) has suggested that the low income worker is simply not concerned with his public reputation, his personality, or his consumption skills. He is oriented more towards enjoying his life and living well from day-to-day than saving for his future. Engel et al. (1968) state that the poor react to their economic situation and degradation in the eyes of respectable people by becoming fatalistic. They feel their situation is hopeless and instead of saving for the future, the underprivileged worker has a desire for those pleasures that are open to him now and as a result, buys impulsively. His lack of planning purchases often causes him to adopt inferior decision strategies whereby he may pay too much, accept credit at a high interest rate, or fail to evaluate the quality of the product in the way that other consumers do.

Cultural reinforcement, which was included as a factor in Caplovitz's study, has been found to play an important role in other studies (Sturdivant, 1969; Kizulbash and Garmen, 1975). For instance, Sturdivant's study of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles (1969) revealed that although 73 per cent of the people studied owned cars, 99 per cent of the grocery purchases were made locally from the Spanish-speaking proprieters. Although the prices were found to be similar to those in the more affluent areas, the researchers found that the products, particularly meat and produce, were of a lower quality.

Lack of adequate storage space, such as freezers and refrigerators, has been named as an important factor in other studies concerning grocery shopping patterns (Kunreuther, 1973; Johnson, 1976). Instead of buying groceries in bulk in order to last one or two weeks, the poor are forced to purchase daily. This results in purchases of small packages rather than taking advantage of the "quantity-discount phenomenon"[6] that occurs when consumers purchase in larger amounts. When one has to engage in grocery shopping every day, the likelihood of travelling to a remote supermarket diminishes and the shopper takes advantage of a more conveniently located, but more expensive, neighbourhood store. Kunreuther has also noted that smaller neighbourhood grocers stock relatively fewer large-size items than do chain stores. Thus, individuals who shop in smaller stores not only pay higher prices than do the chain or supermarket shoppers, but have a narrower range of choice as well.

Dixon and McLaughlin (1971) add that when the mother must care for small children and is unable to leave the home, it is often necessary to send an older child to shop. Therefore, the willingness of the small store operator to provide items from a child's list is an important consideration.

Finally, lack of shopper sophistication, which can only be overcome by consumer education (Caplovitz, 1963; Tayer, 1968; Alexis et al.

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[6]Kunreuther (1973) found that the price differential between a small size package and a large size package ranged from 15 per cent (detergent) to 50 per cent (Mayonnaise) and therefore concluded that quantity discount offered substantial savings. He found that although 72 per cent of the low income shoppers were aware of the quantity-discount phenomenon (compared to only 64 per cent for the higher income group), the poor purchased smaller packages. This may also be a reflection of the lack of sufficient cash to make economical purchases when credit is not available.

1969), and racial discrimination, which will be discussed in the next section, have been considered as factors in the shopping behavior of low income people.

PRICE DISCRIMINATION

Researchers have traditionally divided consumer products into convenience goods, such as groceries which are required on a day-to-day or weekly basis, and durables, such as appliances or furniture, which are needed less frequently, are intended to last for longer periods of time, generally require larger expenditures and, in many cases, are expected to retain at least some of their original value for a reasonable length of time. While some authors feel that the evidence of low income consumer exploitation is inconclusive regarding food retailing, there are definite signs of exploitation in the field of consumer durables (Berry, 1971).

It is a well documented fact that, with regard to durables, low income groups pay more per item than do the higher income groups (Caplovitz, 1963; Magnusan and Carper, 1968; Feldman, 1970). Because furniture and appliances, for example, are often "high ticket" items, it is essential for the purchaser of limited means to have credit available to him. Whereas low income residents may be free to patronize supermarkets outside of their immediate neighbourhood in order to take advantage of lower food prices and greater selection, this freedom is lacking if it is their intent to purchase a new television on credit. The low and sharply fluctuating earnings of many such residents make it impossible to obtain credit from the conventional and relatively low-cost sources open to buyers with higher incomes. "Instead, they are forced to turn to sellers who will provide them with credit, even though the result may be restricted merchandise selection, relatively high prices and high credit charges"

(Feldman, 1970: 5). For example, a study in Washington, D.C., revealed that stores in low income areas financed 93 per cent of their sales by installment contracts, compared with 26 per cent of general market retailers of similar merchandise (Feldman, 1970). The same study indicated that the annual interest charges were frequently as high as 33 per cent, whereas general retailers charged an annual rate of less then 20 per cent. When taken into account with the fact that the interest rate is computed on the inflated selling price (a 100 per cent mark-up is not uncommon compared to a 20 per cent mark-up by general retailers), the low income buyer may end up paying an interest amount more than double that of the general buyer of the same item. Sturdivant (1968) found similar pricing practices in Watts (Los Angeles) including one case where a television purchase included a grossly illegal 82 per cent interest charge.

Huber (1967) has reported that in one eastern American city, some retailers were encouraging welfare recipients to accept credit and threatening to report them to their social worker if they failed to make their payments. Once reported, the victims would no longer be eligible to receive social assistance.

While it appears that retailers of durable goods operating in low income areas are charging higher prices and interest rates than their counterparts in more affluent areas, the case for food retailers has been rather inconclusive. Sexton (1971; 1973), in a review of recent empirical studies, states that the evidence suggest that the food prices in chain stores is generally uniform throughout a city. Nevertheless, a study of grocery prices in Edmonton in 1970 revealed that those residents in the lower socio-economic sectors of the city were paying more for their groceries than those in better off areas (Devine and Hawkins,

1970). Studies in Vancouver and Montreal have shown that prices in poor areas are 15 per cent higher than in wealthier areas (National Council of Welfare, 1974). In the Montreal study, one merchant openly admitted that he raised his prices by 20 per cent on the days that the welfare cheques were issued. Safeway shoppers in Edmonton, however, need not worry about price differences between the individual stores. That is at least until September of 1979. This is when an order of prohibition expires which was originally decreed by Mr. Justice Moore of the Alberta Supreme Court in 1973. The purpose of the order was to weaken the monopoly of the grocery trade held by Safeway in Edmonton which is estimated to be over 50 per cent (Edmonton Journal, January 20, 1979). Among the prohibitions was an order forbidding Safeway to engage in any localized pricing policies.

Finally, one reason why prices may be higher in low income areas may be due to the lack of supermarkets and the preponderance of "mom and pop" establishments. Sturdivant (1968) describes the type of retail outlet generally found in low income areas:

> Lacking economies of scale and the advantage of trained management, the 'moms and pops' muddle through from day to day and, in the process, contribute to the oppressive atmosphere of such neighbourhoods. Their customers generally pay higher prices, receive lower quality merchandise, and shop in shabby, deteriorating facilities (1968: 132).

The reluctance of chain supermarkets to operate in deprived areas means that the residents pay from 7 to 21 per cent more for a market basket if they shop in one of the smaller neighbourhood stores than a family shopping in a supermarket in the more affluent suburbs (Sturdivant, 1968).

One group that is often overlooked in discussions of consumer be-

havior are the elderly. The next, and last, section takes a brief look at some of the problems this group experience.

THE ELDERLY - THE FORGOTTEN DIMENSION

In terms of poverty, the most over-represented portion of our population are the elderly. These are the ones who receive the least consideration from marketers and researchers alike (Margolius, 1972; Wadell, 1975, 1976). When Poduluk (1968) estimates that only about 40 per cent of low income Canadians are at a stage in the family life cycle in which they might, at least for some years, improve their income position, it becomes clear that the elderly poor deserve a good deal more attention from consumer researchers, retailers and government agencies. This is particularly true of those forced into mandatory retirement, those who suffer from poor health while trying to survive on an inadequate income or pension, or those who can simply no longer handle the menial laboring jobs that are often all that is available for the underskilled and the poorly educated. These are the people who are most often the most excessively indebted (Ryan and Mayne, 1969) and who are considered to be the greatest credit risks (Lane, 1971).

On a per capita basis, the elderly consume less than does the younger strata of society (Goldstein, 1969), yet Jaffe (1972) has found that they do so out of necessity and not choice. Mason and Smith (1974), in their study of low income, elderly consumers, found them to be well-informed and remarkably mobile despite the fact that only 28 per cent owned a private automobile. They also found that shopping seemed to be a major part of the life-style of the respondents and perhaps more a source of pleasure than a necessary utilitarian chore.

Among the services felt most needed by the elderly are housing,

transportation and education, including information about consumer fraud (Clark and Cochran, 1972). Margolius (1972) identifies several of the problems facing the elderly poor. These include the high cost of prescription drugs, hearing aids and eyeglasses, transportation costs and automobile insurance, high charges and deceptive selling of home improvements, purchase of unneeded life insurance or the wrong kind of insurance, and a lack of nutritional understanding by the aged which leads to the purchase of expensive health foods. He suggests cooperative efforts by the elderly in such areas as housing development, home repairs and modernization, grocery purchases, drug buying plans and hearing aid assembly. Although buying more for their money is no substitute for an inadequate income, it may keep some of their meager social security and other hard-earned dollars from flowing into the hands of drug manufacturers, food processors, insurance sellers, and other high-priced merchandisers.

SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed the literature concerning the behavior of low income consumers as well as some of the problems low income shoppers, including the elderly poor, have to deal with. The poor are seen as somehow being different from the rest of society. They travel shorter distances to shop, shop at a different type of store and generally pay more for what they purchase. In what appears to be an attempt to take advantage of this behavior, a predatory type of retailer has apparently located in or near low income areas. Some researchers suggest that the poor are unable to shop in the same way other consumers do because they are less mobile and are dependent upon the credit these retailers provide. Others suggest that the poor have different value systems, are intimidated

by the large, bureaucratic department stores or that they simply lack the skills necessary to make rational purchase decisions. One researcher has gone so far as to suggest that the poor are at a cognitive disadvantage when it comes to storing and recalling information relevant to the retail structure. The method traditionally used when studying this behavior is to interview respondents and to collect information regarding the stores they shop at, distance travelled and so on. More recently, some writers have suggested that in order to better understand the behavior of shoppers, it is necessary to gather information concerning their attitudes towards and knowledge levels of the retail system. The following two chapters deal with the grocery shopping and durable goods shopping behavior, respectively, of the respondents and although it is primarily concerned with the traditional type of information, some of the cognitive-behavioral measurement techniques are introduced.

CHAPTER 5

GROCERY SHOPPING PATTERNS AND BEHAVIOR

The review of the literature in the preceding chapter has revealed that there are discernable differences in the shopping behavior of low income and higher income groups. This chapter is concerned with the grocery shopping behavior of the respondents and includes where they shop for groceries, how far they travel and mode of travel. Particular attention will be paid to those who chose to make the bulk of their grocery purchases at corner stores. The chapter will also deal with the respondent's knowledge of the area's grocery stores, their opinions towards the stores they shop at, and their shopping habits. The latter will include the frequency of shopping and their reasons for chosing certain package sizes. Chapter Six will deal with the analysis of the respondent's durable goods shopping behavior.

The reason for dealing with grocery shopping and durable goods shopping separately is related to the fact that consumers view grocery shopping and durable goods shopping differently and this is reflected in their shopping behavior. Grocery items are considered to be a low order convenience good and are purchased frequently and repeatedly. As a result, consumers tend to travel short distances in order to obtain them (Berry et al., 1962). Durables, or higher level shopping goods such as clothing and furniture, are less frequently required and consumers appear to be willing to invest more time and effort in order to obtain a comparison of quality, design and price (National Economic Development Office, 1970).

Geographers have studied these empirical findings and have attempted to relate them to Central Place Theory and the orderliness of spatial behavior that the theory implies.[1] That is, consumers minimize their distance travelled and will purchase goods or services from the closest place which offers the good or service (Clark, 1968). Inherent in such a theory is the concept of range. The upper limit of the range beyond which a consumer would not travel for the good and the lower limit below which there are insufficient consumers to support the particular function are thought to determine market size (Berry and Garrison, 1958). Because of spatial competition and differing internal economic characteristics of the supplying firms, each good will have different limits to its range. Consequently, a commercial structure which is hierarchical in nature will emerge as a result of this orderliness of behavior (Berry and Garrison, 1958). However, there is evidence that Central Place Theory, at least for low order goods such as groceries, is an inadequate predictor of shopping behavior. With respect to shopping at the nearest center for groceries, Clark (1968) found that only 57.4 per cent of his sample adhered to this principle. Clark concluded that intra-urban consumer behavior patterns are too complex to be adequately explained by the deterministic Central Place Theory (Clark, 1968; Clark and Rushton, 1970).

DISTANCE TO GROCERY SHOP

Other studies (Alexis et al., 1969; Dixon and McLaughlin, 1971;

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[1]Although Central Place Theory was originally a theoretical model used to describe the relationship between the number, size and distribution of towns (Christaller, 1966), Berry and Pred have argued that if we treat business centers as central places, Central Place Theory can be used as a theory of the spatial structure of business centers within cities (Berry and Pred, 1961).

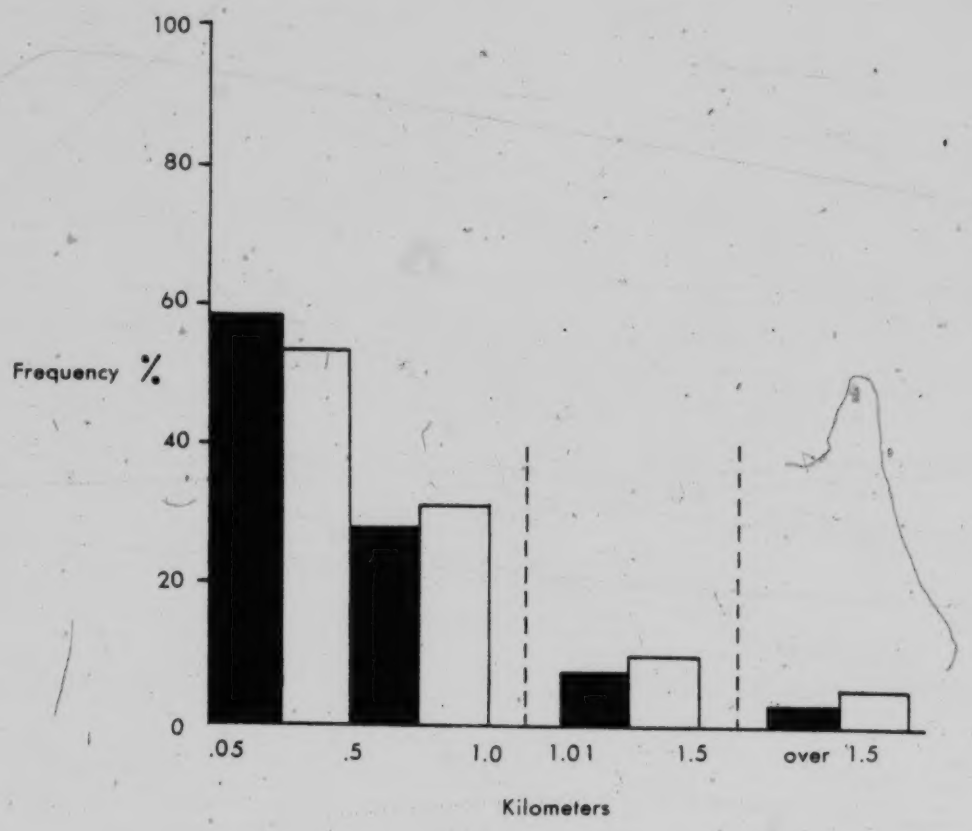
Gaylor, 1974) have suggested that the low income shopper travels less distance to grocery shop than does the higher income group. These findings are important from a theoretical viewpoint, as discussed in the previous section, and from a more practical viewpoint. That is, the willingness of the consumer to by-pass the smaller corner grocery stores in order to take advantage of the greater selection and lower prices available at the larger supermarkets may result in substantial savings to the shopper. Therefore, the first hypothesis to be tested may be stated as follows:

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant difference in distance travelled to grocery shop between the two income groups.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference in distance travelled to grocery shop for the two income groups.

Since the two groups are independent and the data is represented by frequencies in discrete categories, the chi-square (x^2) test of independence may be employed. A significance level of P = 0.05 will be required for the x^2 score. In this case, with three degrees of freedom (d.f.), a x^2 value of 7.815 is needed in order to reject H_0 and accept H_1. Because the calculated x^2 score is 0.70, and is only significant at the 0.85 level, we must accept the null hypothesis (FIGURE 8). That is, there is no significant difference in the distances the two groups travel to grocery shop with the low income group travelling an average distance of 0.65 kilometers and the higher income group travelling an average distance of 0.66 kilometers. The similarities in grocery shopping patterns for the two groups are also evident in Figures 9 and 10 which show the desire lines or straight line distances from the respondent's home to the grocery store he usually patronizes.

Although the distances travelled by the two groups are nearly



$x^2 = 0.70$, d.f. = 3, P = 0.85

Low Income

Higher Income

Figure 8

DISTANCE TO GROCERY SHOP

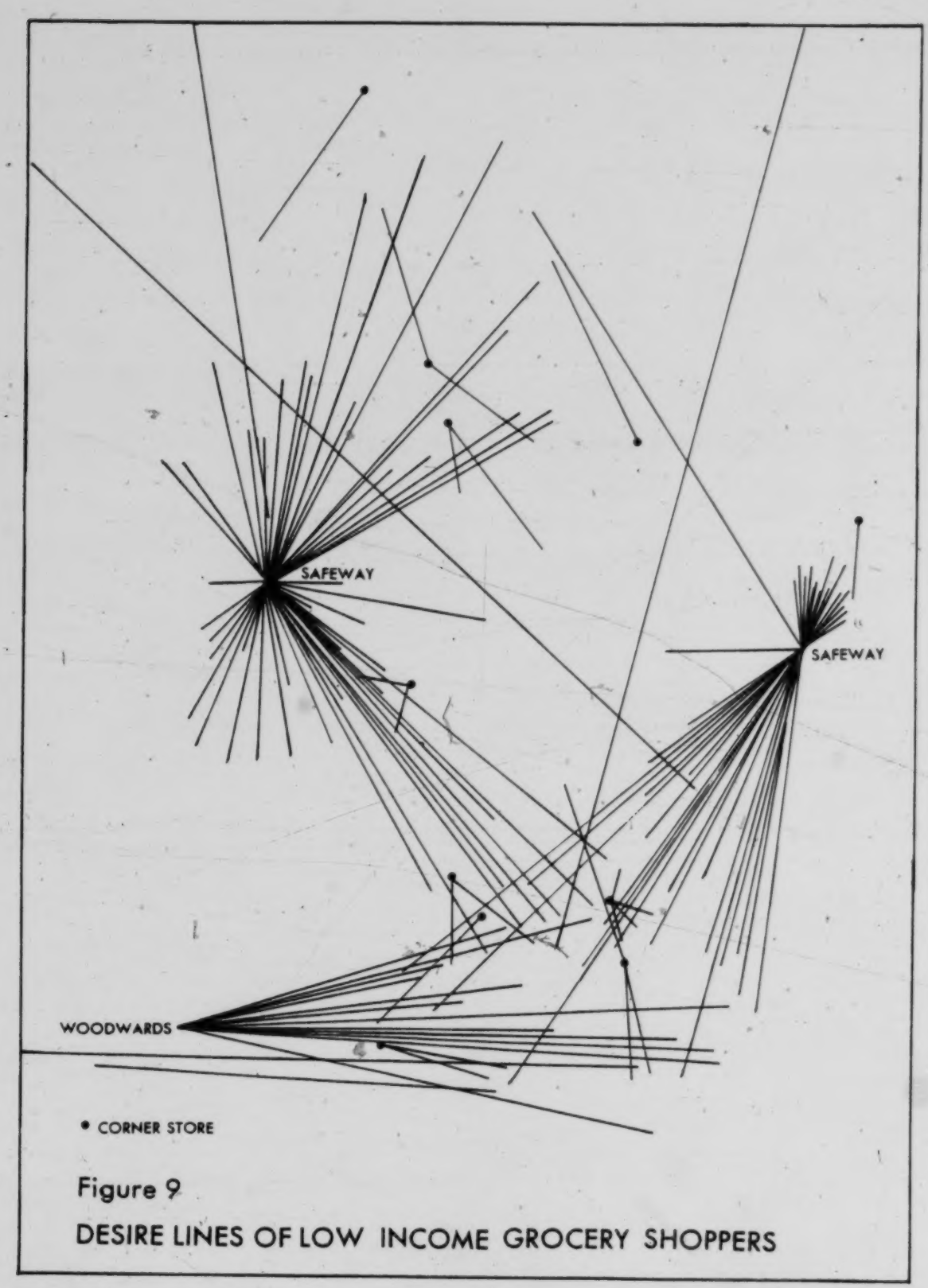


Figure 9

DESIRE LINES OF LOW INCOME GROCERY SHOPPERS

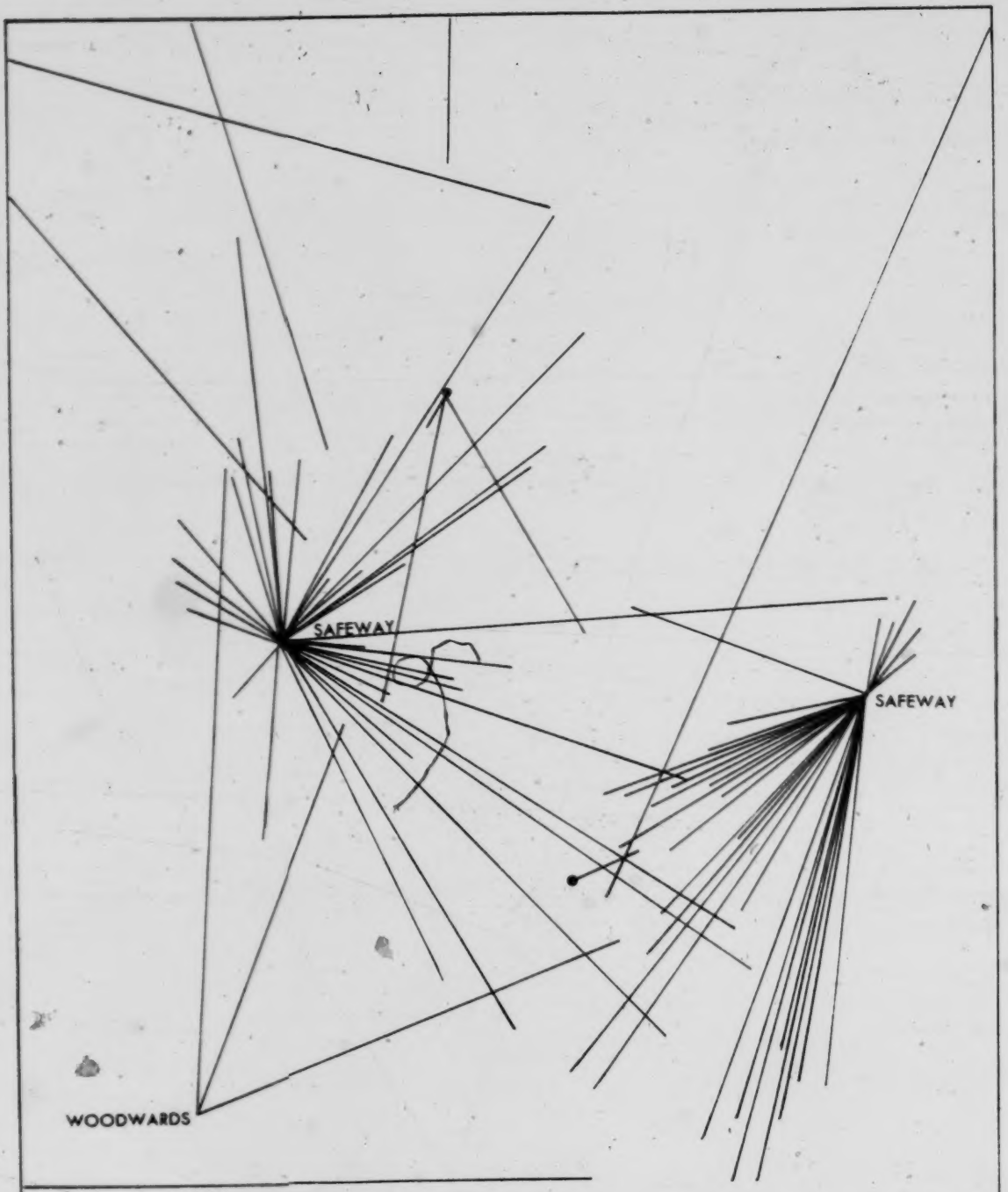


Figure 10

DESIRE LINES OF HIGHER INCOME GROCERY SHOPPERS

identical, there are significant differences in the mode of travel (TABLE 15). The majority (63.9 per cent) of the low income group walked to do their grocery shopping while nearly one-half (47.5 per cent) of the higher income group used an automobile. These figures are closely related to the reported automobile ownership of the respondents where 69.7 per cent of the low income households did not own an automobile compared to only 21.0 per cent of the higher income households.

TABLE 15: MODE OF TRAVEL TO GROCERY SHOP

MODE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Car	19	15.6	38	47.5	57
Walk	78	63.9	31	38.8	109
Bus	7	5.7	3	3.8	10
Taxi	14	11.5	5	6.3	19
Other	4	3.3	3	3.8	7
Total	122	100	80	100	202

$\chi^2 = 24.94$, d.f. = 4, P = 0.001

It is interesting to note that the average distance travelled by mode of travel is different (TABLE 16). This is particularly apparent in the distance low income respondents travelled by bus (1.77 km) compared to the higher income group (0.62 km). As well, low income shoppers walked further (0.38 km) than did the higher income group (0.31 km). This may mean that the low income shopper is willing to invest more time in his shopping trip in order to reach the store that he feels best satisfies his needs. However, it will take much more research to test such an hypothesis.

Thus, while both groups travel similar distances to grocery shop, it can be noted that the low income shopper, due to his limited mobility,

TABLE 16: DISTANCE TO GROCERY SHOP BY TYPE OF TRAVEL (KM)

MODE	INCOME LEVEL	
	Low	Higher
Bus	1.77	.62
Car	.98	.85
Taxi	.84	.69
Walk	.38	.31

spends more time in transit than does the higher income shopper. The next topic to be discussed is where the respondents actually did their grocery shopping.

TYPE OF GROCERY STORE PATRONIZED

Low income consumers have been found to restrict their grocery shopping to local corner stores while higher income shoppers tend to shop at supermarkets. Lack of mobility due to low car ownership, the need for credit and the desire to shop at local stores that cater to ethnic preferences have been cited as the reasons for this particular patronage behavior. As a result, the poor have a smaller selection of goods to choose from, must purchase the small, uneconomical packages these small stores stock, and generally pay more than they would at a large supermarket (Kunreuther, 1973).

Although is has been shown that the two income groups in this study travel similar distances to grocery shop, no mention has been made of where they shop. Therefore, the second hypothesis to be tested may be stated as follows:

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant difference between income level and the type of grocery store patronized.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference between the income level of the respondent and the type of grocery store he chooses.

Once again, the chi-square (x^2) test of independence may be employed (TABLE 17). Because the x^2 value of 4.25 is greater than the x^2 value of 3.84 needed for significance at the 0.05 level, we may reject the null hypothesis (H_0) and accept the research hypothesis (H_1).

TABLE 17: TYPE OF GROCERY STORE BY INCOME

STORE TYPE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	105	86.1	77	95.1	182
Corner Store	17	13.9	4	4.9	21
Total	122	100	81	100	203

$x^2 = 4.25$, d.f. = 1, P = 0.03

Although a significantly greater number (13.9 per cent) of the low income respondents shopped at corner grocery stores for the bulk of their groceries compared to the higher income group (4.9 per cent), the majority of both groups shopped at the larger supermarkets. It is of interest to note (TABLE 18) that more of the higher income shoppers (88.8 per cent) shopped within the Study Area than did the low income shoppers (82.7 per cent).

TABLE 18: PATRONAGE OF GROCERY STORES BY AREA (%)

	STORE	INCOME LEVEL	
		Low	Higher
WITHIN STUDY AREA	Safeway (97 ST)	43.9	46.9
	Safeway (90 ST)	25.4	37.0
	Corner Stores	13.8	4.9
OUTSIDE STUDY AREA	Woodwards (Downtown)	10.4	6.3
	Other Stores	6.5	4.9
	Total	100	100

This finding conflicts with findings of other researchers who have found that the higher income shoppers will travel further afield while the low income shopper is confined to his immediate neighbourhood (Davies, 1968; Dixon and McLaughlin, 1971). Much of this discrepancy, however, is accounted for by the greater number of low income respondents who shopped at Woodwards in the downtown core. Many of these shoppers are the low income elderly who tend to live in that part of the Study Area which is adjacent to the City's core and therefore have less distance to travel than the residents of the more outlying areas (TABLE 19). As well, many of the elderly expressed the opinion that Edmonton Center (Woodwards Limited) served as a meeting place and therefore offered an opportunity to socialize as well as to shop.

TABLE 19: AVERAGE DISTANCE (KM) TO GROCERY SHOP BY TYPE OF STORE

STORE	INCOME LEVEL	
	Low	Higher
Safeway (97 ST)	.51	.48
Safeway (90 ST)	.48	.54
Corner Store	.20	.34
Woodwards (Downtown)	.73	1.01
Loblaws (Kingsway Mall)	3.40	2.00
Other Safeways	2.00	1.80
Other Stores	3.40	4.20

CHARACTERISTICS OF CORNER STORE SHOPPERS

Although the number of shoppers who patronize the small, corner stores is small relative to the total sample (10.3 per cent), the majority (81 per cent) fall into the low income category. This section will describe the characteristics of this group in order to see what, if anything, they have in common. This is important in order to test the validity of of other researcher's findings (American and British) with respect to the

Canadian experience. As well, it will be of benefit to the consumer educator who will then be better able to identify his target group. Such factors as income, education, age, length of residence, race, ethnicity, and car ownership have all been identified, or at least suggested, as being important factors in determining where the consumer does his grocery shopping (Chapter 4). It has already been shown that a significantly higher proportion of low income respondents shopped at corner stores. Now, in the form of hypothesis testing, the relationship between these other factors and the patronage decision can be tested.

Education

In Chapter 3, it was established that the lack of formal education was more common among the low income group than the higher income group. It may well be, then, that the lack of formal education is a determinants of where the respondent grocery shops.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between educational attainment and the type of grocery store the consumer chooses.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant relationship between educational attainment and the type of grocery store the consumer chooses.

TABLE 20: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND THE TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	EDUCATION								
	0 - 8		9 - 11		12 or Tech		University		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	71	85.5	53	91.4	42	95.5	16	88.9	182
Corner Store	12	14.5	5	8.6	2	4.5	2	11.1	21
Total	83	100	58	100	44	100	18	100	203

$\chi^2 = 3.39$, d.f. = 3, not significant at the 0.05 level

Since the x^2 value of 3.39 is less than 7.82, required for significance at the 0.05 level, the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted. It is concluded that educational attainment is not significantly related to the type of store selected although slightly more of the group with the lowest educational attainment shopped at corner stores for their groceries (TABLE 20).

Age

Age of the household head has also been shown to be related to the income level of the household (Chapter 3). There was a strong tendency for the low income household heads to be either young (16-24) or older than 55 years of age. Therefore, since the low income shoppers patronize the corner stores more frequently than the higher income shoppers, this difference may be reflected by the different age groups.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Age of the respondent is not significantly related to the type of grocery store he shops at.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Age of the respondent is significantly related to the type of grocery store the shopper chooses.

TABLE 21: AGE OF RESPONDENT AND THE TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	AGE OF RESPONDENT								
	16 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 54		55 plus		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	35	89.7	45	93.8	51	87.9	51	87.9	182
Corner Store	4	10.3	3	6.2	7	12.1	7	12.1	21
Total	39	100	48	100	58	100	58	100	203

$x^2 = 1.27$, d.f. = 3, not significant at the 0.05 level

The x^2 score for Table 21 is not significant at the 0.05 level and therefore the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted. It is concluded that age is not significantly related to where the shopper does his grocery shopping.

The fact that the older shopper behaves in much the same manner as his younger counterparts is of interest since the older person is generally considered to be less mobile than the younger age groups. The lack of an automobile, the fact that the elderly person has difficulty carrying large packages onto public transportation facilities and the exertion associated with walking long distances have all been given as reasons for this apparent lack of mobility. In fact, Table 22 shows that the older shoppers often travelled the greatest distances for groceries despite the fact that the majority had to rely on walking as their means of transportation (TABLE 23).

TABLE 22: DISTANCE TO GROCERY SHOP (KM) BY AGE

INCOME LEVEL	AGE OF SHOPPER						
	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	74 plus
Low Income	.62	.56	.59	.52	.97	.58	.48
Higher Income	.60	.59	.48	.65	1.43	1.11	.55
General Sample	.61	.57	.54	.57	1.06	.70	.49

TABLE 23: MODE OF TRAVEL TO GROCERY SHOP BY AGE

MODE	16 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 54		54 plus		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Car	16	41.0	20	41.7	17	29.7	6	10.3	59
Walk	20	51.3	24	50.0	31	53.4	33	56.9	108
Bus	--	--	1	2.0	1	1.7	8	13.8	10
Taxi	3	7.7	3	6.3	7	12.2	6	10.3	19
Other	--	--	--	--	2	3.4	5	8.7	7
Total	39	100	48	100	58	100	58	100	203

Car Ownership

Shoppers with access to an automobile have an obvious advantage over those who do not. This relates not only to the ability to shop at

more distant destinations, but to the ease and convenience of transporting major grocery purchases. Therefore, one may hypothesize that those households without cars are more likely to shop at nearby corner stores than those without cars.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Car ownership, or lack of it, is not significantly related to the type of grocery store shopped at.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Car ownership is significantly related to the type of grocery store shopped at.

TABLE 24: CAR OWNERSHIP BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	CAR OWNERSHIP				
	Car		No Car		
	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	96	96.0	84	83.2	180
Corner Store	4	4.0	17	16.8	21
Total	100	100	101	100	201

$\chi^2 = 8.71$, d.f. = 1, P = 0.01

Table 24 indicates that nearly 17 per cent of the carless households shopped at corner stores compared to only 4 per cent of those households with automobiles. This is statistically significant according to the chi-square test of independence and it can therefore be concluded that carless households are more likely to shop at corner stores.

Length of Residence

LaGarce (1974) has suggested that the longer a person has resided in a neighbourhood, the more likely he is to know of a greater number of stores and is therefore less likely to shop at a nearby corner store. Conversely, an individual who is relatively new to a neighbourhood is more likely to shop at a corner store.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between length of residence within the Study Area and the type of grocery store the respondent patronizes.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant relationship between length of residence within the Study Area and the type of grocery store the respondent patronizes.

TABLE 25: LENGTH OF RESIDENCE WITHIN THE STUDY AREA BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE								
	less than 1½ years		1½ to 5 years		6 to 12 years		12 years and over		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	46	90.2	47	92.2	39	90.7	50	86.2	182
Corner Store	5	9.8	4	7.8	4	9.3	8	13.8	21
Total	51	100	51	100	43	100	58	100	203

$\chi^2 = 1.18$, d.f. = 3, not significant at the 0.05 level

Table 25 shows that length of residence is not related to the type of grocery store selected (χ^2 not significant at the 0.05 level) and the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted. In fact, that group who had resided in the Study Area the longest, over 12 years, had a larger proportion of corner store shoppers than did the respondents who had moved to the area most recently.

Marital Status

It was established in Chapter 3 that household income levels were significantly related to the marital status of the respondent. Married couples were much less likely to be living below the poverty line than were the one-person households or the single parent families. Since low income shoppers frequent corner stores more often than do higher income shoppers, it is reasonable to suspect that the marital status of the

respondent is related to where he grocery shops.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between the respondent's marital status and the type of grocery store he patronizes.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant relationship between the respondent's marital status and where he grocery shops.

TABLE 26: MARITAL STATUS BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	MARITAL STATUS						
	Married		Single		Widowed		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	92	93.9	59	81.9	31	93.9	182
Corner Store	6	6.1	13	18.1	2	6.1	21
Total	98	100	72	100	33	100	203

$\chi^2 = 7.23$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.02

As indicated in Table 26, there is a significant relationship between marital status and the type of grocery store patronized. The research hypothesis (H_1) may therefore be accepted and it can be concluded that single people are more likely to shop at corner stores than are those shoppers who are living in a husband and wife arrangement. It is interesting to note that while 18.1 per cent of those who were not married shopped at corner stores, only 6.1 per cent of the widowed respondents were corner store shoppers. This may mean that the surviving spouse perpetuates the shopping pattern or behavior that was established during the years of marriage. This, in turn, may mean that the husband and wife both take an interest and responsibility in grocery shopping.

Ethnicity and Place of Birth

Race and ethnicity have been associated with different grocery shopping patterns in the United States. Although the evidence is inconclu-

sive, Andreasen (1975) suggests that Blacks are more likely to shop at corner stores than are whites. Caplovitz (1963) found that Puerto Ricans tended to shop locally while others have noted that Mexican-Americans, regardless of income, make the majority of their grocery purchases from local Spanish-speaking proprietors (Sturdivant, 1969; Kizulbash and Garner, 1975). Therefore, the hypothesis stating that race is not associated with the type of grocery store patronized will be tested. Because of the small numbers of non-whites (Orientals, East Indians, Latin Americans, and North American Indians) in the sample, they will all be treated as one group for statistical purposes.[2]

H_0 (null hypothesis): Race of the respondent is not significantly related to the type of grocery store the respondent patronizes.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Race of the respondent is significantly related to the type of grocery store the respondent patronizes.

TABLE 27: RACE OF RESPONDENT BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	RACE				
	White		Non-White		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	137	89.0	45	91.8	182
Corner Store	17	11.0	4	8.2	21
Total	154	100	49	100	203

$\chi^2 = 0.32$, d.f. = 1, not significant at the 0.05 level

The χ^2 score is not significant at the 0.05 level and therefore

[2]Runyon and Haber (1972) state that when the degrees of freedom are greater than one, the expected frequency in 80 per cent of the cells must equal or exceed 5.0 when the chi-square test of independence is being employed.

the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted. This means that race is not significantly associated with the type of grocery store patronized (TABLE 27). A more detailed breakdown is given in Table 28 but a chi-square score cannot be calculated due to the small representation of the non-white categories.

TABLE 28: DETAILED RACE BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	White	North Am. Indian	Latin American	Oriental	East Indian
	N	N	N	N	N
Supermarket	137	32	7	4	2
Corner Store	17	3	-	-	1
Total	154	35	7	4	3

The final hypothesis to be tested with regard to the type of grocery store patronized relates to ethnicity. Ethnicity, in this case, will be measured by the country of the respondent's birth and second and third generation descendents will be simply regarded as Canadian born. Once again, those born outside of Canada will have to be treated as one group in order to satisfy the requirements of the chi-square test of independence.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Ethnicity of the respondent is not significantly related to they type of grocery store the respondent patronizes.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Ethnicity of the respondent is significantly related to the type of grocery store the respondent patronizes.

Again the χ^2 score is below that which would make the value significant at the 0.05 level and the null hypothesis (H_0) stating that ethnicity is not related to the type of store patronized may be accepted (TABLE 29). However, a more detailed breakdown is presented in Table 30 and one particu-

TABLE 29: PLACE OF BIRTH BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	PLACE OF BIRTH				
	Canada		Outside Canada		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	134	91.2	48	85.7	182
Corner Store	13	8.8	8	14.3	21
Total	147	100	56	100	203

$x^2 = 1.29$, d.f. = 1, not significant at the 0.05 level

lar group stands out. Two-thirds of the Italian-born respondents shopped at the smaller corner stores. Closer scrutiny of the questionnaires reveals that in all four cases of Italian-born respondents patronizing corner stores, the corner store was operated by an Italian proprietor. It would appear, therefore, that cultural reinforcement is an important consideration in the grocery shopping decision of Italian-born respondents.

TABLE 30: DETAILED PLACE OF BIRTH BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	PLACE OF BIRTH							
	Canada	U.S.A.	Britain, Western Europe	East Europe	Italy	Orient	Latin America	East Indies
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Supermarket	134	5	14	14	2	4	7	2
Corner Store	13	--	--	3	4	--	--	1
Total	147	5	14	17	6	4	7	3

In the form of hypothesis testing it has been established that low income shoppers are more likely to patronize the small corner grocery stores for the bulk of their grocery purchases than are the higher income households. It has also been shown that those without a car and those who are single are more likely to shop at corner grocery stores. No relationship

could be found for the respondent's age, education, race, or length of residence within the Study Area. However, it was suggested that Italian-born shoppers are more likely to shop at the small stores which cater specifically to the Italian-Canadian population. In summary, the largest group (9) were individuals who lived alone. Nearly all (8) were male, the majority were over 45 years of age, were considered to be low income, and none had cars. As well, three more households were composed of low income, single mothers who were without access to an automobile as were five of the seven couples who shopped at corner grocery stores.

There are, therefore, a significant number of inner-city shoppers, most of whom are living at the poverty level, who purchase their groceries from the small corner stores. Not only do these consumers pay higher prices for their groceries than they would if they shopped at supermarkets, but they have a smaller selection of package sizes and brands to choose from. Whether or not these shoppers are aware of these inequities within the retail system has not been considered and will be addressed in the next section which will deal with the "shopping effectiveness" of the poverty level and non-poverty level respondents.

SHOPPING EFFECTIVENESS

The shopping ability or "shopping effectiveness" of consumers is an area of concern that has been considered by both home economists and marketing specialists. Awareness of different price structures between stores (Goldman, 1977), frequency of shopping (McFadyen, 1974), purchasing of large packages as opposed to smaller convenience ones (Food Product Development Magazine, 1974) and shopping scope (Caplovitz, 1963; Goldman, 1976) have all been identified as factors in the consumer's effectiveness as a shopper. By increasing the consumer's awareness of the above factors,

it is felt that, at the very least, "...improved information could decrease inefficiencies in the food marketing system, and eliminate much of the consumer dissatisfaction and frustration" (McFadyen, 1974: 5).

This section is concerned with the measurement of the above indicators of "shopping effectiveness" and with establishing whether or not the poverty level respondents in this study are any more or less effective shoppers than the higher income group.

Frequency of Grocery Shopping

Home economists feel that planning your grocery purchases weekly or bi-weekly is an important aspect of family financial budgeting (McFadyen, 1974). Meal planning and bulk purchasing will result in monetary savings and a reduction in wasted food. Other researchers feel that while planned purchasing is beneficial for larger family units, one or two person households cannot usually benefit from bulk purchases due to the reduced size in servings and the difficulty of storage (Kunreuther, 1973; Johnson, 1975). As well, low income households with inadequate or fluctuating earnings often cannot take advantage of planned purchasing and tend to shop more frequently as need arises and when money is available (Andreasen, 1975). Therefore, the first hypothesis to be tested in this section involves the frequency of grocery shopping by the two income groups.

H_0 (null hypothesis): The frequency of grocery shopping is not significantly related to the income level of the respondent.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The frequency of grocery shopping is significantly related to the respondent's income level.

Since the x^2 score is significant at the 0.01 level, the research hypothesis (H_1) may be accepted and it can be concluded that the low income shopper shops more frequently than the non-poverty respondents in this

TABLE 31: FREQUENCY OF GROCERY SHOPPING BY INCOME LEVEL

FREQUENCY	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
3 or more/week	27	22.1	10	12.2	37
2/week	25	20.5	8	9.8	33
weekly	50	41.0	50	61.0	100
bi-monthly or monthly	20	16.4	14	17.0	34
Total	122	100	82	100	204

$x^2 = 10.25$, d.f. = 3, P = 0.01

study (TABLE 31). Although the low income shoppers are therefore considered to be less effective shoppers, at least by the frequency of shopping measurement, there is no evidence as to why they shop more frequently. Thus, further research is necessary in order to establish what reasons lie behind this particular behavior.

Bulk Purchasing

The practice of purchasing larger packages rather than small packages of the same item will result in paying less per unit. Kunreuther (1973) refers to this as the "quantity-discount phenomenon" and states that grocery shoppers can save from 15 to 50 per cent per unit depending on the item. The respondent's were asked if they believed that larger packages were cheaper per unit than small packages.

H_0 (null hypothesis): The respondent's awareness of the "quantity-discount phenomenon" is not significantly related to his income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The respondent's awareness of the "quantity-discount phenomenon" is significantly related to his income level.

Although 9.3 per cent more of the higher income group agreed that it is possible to save money by purchasing larger packages (TABLE 32), this

TABLE 32: DOES BULK PURCHASING SAVE MONEY BY INCOME LEVEL

RESPONSE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Yes	98	79.7	73	89.0	171
No	13	10.6	4	4.9	17
Don't know	12	9.8	5	6.1	17
Total	123	100	82	100	205

$\chi^2 = 3.23$, d.f. = 2, not significant at the 0.05 level

is not considered to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level and the null hypothesis (H_0) can therefore be accepted.

The respondents were also asked what size of package they were in the habit of purchasing while grocery shopping. It is now possible to test whether or not the respondents take advantage of this saving.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Size of package purchased is not significantly related to the respondent's income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Size of package purchased is significantly related to the respondent's income level.

TABLE 33: SIZE OF PACKAGE PURCHASED BY INCOME LEVEL

SIZE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Large	46	37.7	43	53.1	89
Medium	37	30.3	28	34.6	65
Small	39	32.0	10	12.3	45
Total	122	100	81	100	203

$\chi^2 = 10.66$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.01

Table 33 indicates that the two income groups do not always purchase the larger packages although the large majority of both groups realize that money can be saved in this manner (TABLE 32). However, significantly more of the higher income group purchased the larger packages so that the research hypothesis (H_1) may be accepted and it can be concluded that the low income shopper is more likely to purchase a smaller package and is therefore a less effective shopper.

It may be that while the poor are aware of the money saving advantages of bulk purchasing, it is not practical for them to do so. Those respondents purchasing large packages were asked if they were doing so in order to save money.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between purchasing large packages in order to save money and income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant relationship between purchasing large packages to save money and income level.

TABLE 34: REASON FOR PURCHASING LARGER PACKAGES BY INCOME LEVEL

REASON	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
To save money	17	39.5	20	42.6	37
Other	26	60.5	27	57.4	53
Total	43	100	47	100	90

$\chi^2 = 0.10$, d.f. = 1, not significant at the 0.05 level

According to Table 34 the null hypothesis (H_0) stating that purchasers of large packages from both income groups are equally concerned with saving money may be accepted. The reasons given by the two income groups for the purchase of small packages may now be investigated.

H_0 (null hypothesis): The reason for selecting smaller packages is not significantly related to income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The reason for selecting smaller packages is significantly related to income level.

TABLE 35: REASON FOR SELECTING SMALLER PACKAGES BY INCOME LEVEL

REASON	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Ease of carrying	9	11.4	2	5.9	11
Ease of storing	40	50.6	10	29.4	50
Small family	24	30.4	21	61.8	45
Other	6	7.6	1	2.9	7
Total	79	100	34	100	113

$\chi^2 = 9.90$, d.f. = 3, P = 0.02

The research hypothesis (H_1) stating that the two income groups give significantly different reasons (greater than a 0.05 level of significance) for selecting smaller packages may be accepted (TABLE 35). The majority (61.8 per cent) of the higher income group cited "small family" as the reason for choosing smaller packages compared to only 30.4 per cent of the low income group. "Ease of storing" was given by one-half of the low income respondents thus lending support to Johnson's (1976) contention that lack of refrigerators and freezers is a restraint to the low income shopper. As well, "ease of carrying" was given by a significantly larger number of low income respondents reflecting the lower level of automobile ownership by the poor.

It would appear, therefore, that practical considerations outweigh the monetary advantages associated with purchasing in bulk and that according to this evidence, the low income portion of the sample cannot be considered to be less "effective" in their grocery shopping habits. For this

reason, size of package purchased is not a good measurement of the shopping effectiveness of low income consumers as other important factors play a role in the purchase decision.

Inter-Store Prices

Goldman (1977) found that low income consumers were more aware of price differences for meat products between three different types of stores (supermarkets, neighbourhood butcher shops and public-market butchers) than were higher income consumers. He concluded that this price conciousness indicated better shopping effectiveness and knowledge of market opportunities. As was shown in Chapter Four (TABLE 14), the corner grocery stores in the Study Area generally charge higher prices than the two large supermarkets. Therefore, an indication of the respondent's shopping effectiveness may be given if he correctly or incorrectly identifies this fact.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Consumer awareness of inter-store price differences is not significantly related to income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Consumer awareness of inter-store price differences is significantly related to income level.

TABLE 36: CORNER STORES MORE EXPENSIVE THAN SUPERMARKETS BY INCOME LEVEL

RESPONSE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Yes	113	91.9	71	86.6	184
No	8	6.5	10	12.2	18
Don't know	2	1.6	1	1.2	3
Total	123	100	82	100	205

$x^2 = 2.02$, d.f. = 2, not significant at the 0.05 level

Although a slightly greater proportion of low income respondents agreed that corner stores were more expensive than supermarkets, it is not considered to be statistically significant and the null hypothesis (H_0) must therefore be accepted (TABLE 36). This raises the question of whether or not corner store shoppers are aware that they are paying higher prices.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Consumer awareness of inter-store price differences is not significantly related to where the respondent grocery shops.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Consumer awareness of inter-store price differences is significantly related to where the respondent grocery shops.

TABLE 37: CORNER STORES MORE EXPENSIVE THAN SUPERMARKETS BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE SHOPPED AT

RESPONSE	TYPE OF STORE				
	Corner Store		Super-Market		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Yes	18	85.7	165	90.2	183
No	3	14.3	18	9.8	21
Total	21	100	183	100	204

$\chi^2 = 0.05$, d.f. = 1, not significant at the 0.05 level

Once again the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted and it appears that corner store shoppers are just as aware of the pricing differential between the two types of grocery stores as are the supermarket shoppers (TABLE 37). This refutes the belief of some researchers that the poor are unaware of the pricing structure and are therefore at a disadvantage in the marketplace. Even those who shop at corner stores are aware that they are paying more but continue to do so for other reasons. From the evidence presented to this point, it would appear that the lack of an automobile, particularly for those single person households without

adequate storage facilities thus necessitating frequent journeys to the grocery store, and to a lesser extent cultural reinforcement among the Italian-born respondents, are the major factors that determine what type of store the grocery shopper chooses. There is,therefore, little reason to believe that the low income shoppers are any less effective in their grocery shopping skills than the higher income group. Rather, their grocery shopping patterns are largely governed by circumstances over which they have little or no control.

Shopping Scope

The term shopping scope was first coined by three German researchers (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, 1960) who found that low income consumers always considered a smaller number of stores when making their purchases. Goldman (1976) found that low income furniture shoppers were aware of a smaller number of stores and concluded that they had a lower shopping scope. LaGarce (1974) suggests that grocery shoppers with a wide shopping scope are more likely to patronize supermarkets than corner stores. Wide shopping scope is related to the number of stores the shopper is aware of and this awareness, in turn, is said to be associated with not only income level, but education and length of residence. Smith's (1974) research with regard to cognitive image development tends to lend support to LaGarce's statements concerning the number of grocery stores the consumer is aware of.

The respondents were shown a map of the Study Area with all the grocery stores included and were asked to identity which ones they recognized regardless of whether or not they ever shopped there. Tables 38 and 39 show that education and income are not significantly related to the number of stores the respondents were able to recognize while Table 40 indicates that length of residence within the Study Area is significantly

TABLE 38: NUMBER OF STORES FAMILIAR BY EDUCATION LEVEL

EDUCATION	NUMBER OF STORES										
	1 - 5		6 - 10		11 - 15		16 - 20		20 - 27		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0 - 8	26	42.6	30	44.8	19	41.3	4	25.0	5	33.3	84
9 - 11	13	21.3	19	28.4	14	30.4	6	37.5	7	46.7	60
12 or Tech	16	26.2	13	19.4	8	17.4	5	31.3	2	13.3	44
University	6	9.8	5	7.5	5	10.9	1	6.3	1	6.7	18
Total	61	100	67	100	46	100	16	100	15	100	205

$x^2 = 7.81$, d.f. = 12, not significant at the 0.05 level

TABLE 39: NUMBER OF STORES FAMILIAR BY INCOME LEVEL

INCOME	NUMBER OF STORES										
	1 - 5		6 - 10		11 - 15		16 - 20		20 - 27		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Low	42	68.9	42	62.7	23	50.0	7	43.8	9	60.0	123
Higher	19	31.1	25	37.3	23	50.0	9	56.2	6	40.0	82
Total	61	100	67	100	46	100	16	100	15	100	205

$x^2 = 5.88$, d.f. = 4, not significant at the 0.05 level

related to the number of stores they were familiar with. The findings with respect to education and income are contrary to the findings of the above researchers even though LaGarce and Smith carried out their research within low income, inner city areas. The last hypothesis to be tested, therefore, in relation to shopping effectiveness is whether or not the respondent's shopping scope or awareness of grocery stores within the Study Area is

TABLE 40: NUMBER OF STORES FAMILIAR BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	NUMBER OF STORES								
	1 - 5		6 - 10		11 - 15		16 or more		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
less than 1½ years	27	44.3	15	22.4	5	10.9	5	16.1	52
1½ to 5 years	13	21.3	19	28.4	15	32.6	4	12.9	51
6 to 12 years	7	11.5	14	20.9	13	28.3	9	29.0	43
12 or more years	14	23.0	19	28.4	13	28.3	13	41.9	59
Total	61	100	67	100	46	100	31	100	205

$x^2 = 23.63$, d.f. = 9, P = 0.01

significantly related to the type of grocery store he patronizes.

H_0 (null hypothesis): The number of stores the respondent is familiar with is not significantly related to the type of grocery store he patronizes.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The number of stores the respondent is familiar with is significantly related to the type of grocery store he patronizes.

TABLE 41: NUMBER OF STORES FAMILIAR BY TYPE OF GROCERY STORE

TYPE	NUMBER OF STORES								
	1 - 5		6 - 10		11 - 15		16 or more		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Supermarket	54	91.5	58	86.6	42	91.3	28	90.3	182
Corner Store	5	8.5	9	13.4	4	8.7	3	9.7	21
Total	59	100	67	100	46	100	31	100	203

$x^2 = 1.06$, d.f. = 3, not significant at the 0.05 level

According to Table 41, there is no relationship (chi-square score not significant at the 0.05 level) between the number of stores the respondent is familiar with and where he does his grocery shopping. Therefore, the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted. It would seem that, in the case of

Edmonton inner city shoppers, shopping scope or the awareness of grocery stores is not related to income and it is not related to the type of store the consumer chooses. These findings throw doubt on the usefulness of employing shopping scope as an indicator of shopping effectiveness.

The final section is a brief discussion of the attitudes or levels of satisfaction the grocery shoppers have towards the stores they patronize.

SHOPPING SATISFACTION

So far it has been established that while the low income shoppers travel similar distances to grocery shop, a substantial proportion restrict their shopping to the smaller corner stores. It has been shown that the corner store shoppers are aware that they are paying higher prices and the evidence suggests the lack of car ownership may be the chief factor in this patronage decision. However, other underlying factors may be involved. Downs (1970) suggests that the consumer's satisfaction with five different areas (price, selection, quality of merchandise, service and the store's interior) is an important consideration in his patronage choice. Thus, it may be that the low income shopper views the corner store in a more favorable light than does the higher income shopper. Therefore, each individual was asked to rate his store for the five variables mentioned above on a five point scale ranging from excellent to poor. A value of five was then assigned to a response of "excellent", four for "good", three for "average", two for "fair", and one for "poor". In this way it is possible to calculate the average judgement regarding each store with a score of 5.0 being the highest possible and a score of 1.0 being the lowest. The findings are presented in Table 42.

As indicated by the scores in Table 42, the low income shoppers were less satisfied with the corner stores than the higher income shoppers.

TABLE 42: VALUE JUDGEMENTS FOR GROCERY STORES

	MEAN SCORE ($\bar{X}$)				
	Safeway (97)	Safeway (90)	Corner Store	Woodwards Downtown	Other Stores
SELECTION	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$
General Sample	3.93	3.87	3.81	4.17	4.17
Low Income	3.96	3.87	3.81	4.27	4.38
Higher Income	3.89	3.87	4.25	4.00	3.75
QUALITY					
General Sample	3.70	3.75	3.90	4.11	3.83
Low Income	3.83	3.71	3.88	4.08	4.25
Higher Income	3.53	3.80	4.00	4.20	3.00
PRICES					
General Sample	3.26	3.56	2.81	3.39	3.33
Low Income	3.23	3.45	2.76	3.46	3.38
Higher Income	3.30	3.67	3.00	3.20	3.25
INTERIOR					
General Sample	3.94	3.98	3.76	3.77	4.08
Low Income	4.08	4.03	3.65	3.77	4.08
Higher Income	3.76	3.93	4.25	3.80	4.00
SERVICE					
General Sample	3.93	4.08	4.33	4.11	4.00
Low Income	4.12	4.10	4.29	4.15	4.38
Higher Income	3.68	4.07	4.50	4.00	3.25

Corner store shoppers, in general, tended to rate the corner stores lower in every category with the exception of "service" which received the highest rating of all the stores. Corner store shoppers, especially the low income group, were particularly critical of prices indicating, once again, that they are aware of the higher pricing structures corner stores employ. This may also be an indication that the low income or poverty level shopper is more price conscious or more sensitive to price differentials than the higher income shopper who has greater financial resources. It would seem, therefore, that corner store shoppers, particularly the low income group, are generally less satisfied with the "moms and pops" but continue to patronize

them. This would suggest that they either do so more out of necessity than choice or that friendly service outweighs financial considerations. If the former is true, then it can be concluded that the low income shopper is aware of the disadvantages associated with these shopping patterns and that, perhaps, education is not the answer in changing these habits.

With regard to general satisfaction levels between the two income groups, the only other noticeably consistent differences, other than those relating to corner stores, are those for stores outside the Study Area excluding Woodwards at Edmonton Center. The low income shoppers recorded higher satisfaction levels in every category, particularly selection, quality of goods and service. This may be a reflection of the greater effort this generally less mobile group of shoppers must make and the greater rewards they experience as a result.

Finally, the fact that such a scaling technique reflects consistencies such as that shown in the pricing category where corner stores were rated below average or where low income consumers overcame the negative effects of distance in order to achieve higher levels of satisfaction suggests that this technique can be a useful and accurate tool for measuring consumer attitudes.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the grocery shopping behavior of the respondents was analyzed and comparisons were drawn between the poverty level and non-poverty level consumers. The first section was concerned with where the respondents did their grocery shopping, the second was concerned with the characteristics of the corner store shoppers, the third section dealt with the respondents' effectiveness as shoppers and in the final section, the levels of satisfaction the consumers reported regarding the grocery stores

was discussed.

It was found that the majority of both groups, low income and higher income, shopped for their groceries within the Study Area and that both groups travelled similar distances to grocery shop. Therefore, it might be suggested that regardless of income, people tend to shop locally for every day goods such as groceries. Although the majority of both groups patronized the larger supermarkets (either at one of the two Safeways or nearby Woodwards at Edmonton Center), a significantly larger proportion of the low income respondents shopped at the small corner stores located throughout the Study Area.

In order to understand why a certain group of people patronized corner stores, the characteristics of those shoppers was more closely scrutinized. It was found that such factors as education, age, race and length of residence within the Study Area were not significantly related to the type of store patronized. Car ownership, marital status and, to a lesser extent, place of birth were found to be associated with store type. In short, those who shopped at corner stores were without a car, were single including single parents, and/or were of Italian descent. At this point in the discussion it was suggested that reduced mobility due to the lack of an automobile and the desire of Italian speaking shoppers to deal with Italian speaking proprietors were the two major factors that explained the patronage decision of corner store shoppers.

The shopping effectiveness of the two income groups was then measured. It was found that the low income shoppers tended to shop for groceries more frequently that the higher income group who were more inclined to shop weekly or bi-monthly. The low income shoppers showed a tendency to purchase smaller packages, although both groups agreed that larger packages or

purchasing in bulk resulted in savings to the shopper. When asked why smaller packages were purchased, the lower income group cited ease of storing and ease of carrying as the major reasons. These findings reflected the difficulty grocery shopping presents to those without an automobile and the problems associated with storage due to the lack of a refrigerator and/or freezer (specifically those single men living in small rooms in apartment houses).

It was also hypothesized that the low income shoppers were not aware that corner stores charged significantly higher prices than did supermarkets thus, perhaps, explaining their particular patronage decision. However, it was found that the large majority of both groups were aware of this price differential as were the corner store shoppers themselves.

Finally, it was hypothesized that the number of grocery stores in the area that the respondents were aware of was significantly related to the respondent's education, income and length of residence within the Study Area. The findings indicated that this familiarity was only related to the length of residence where those who had lived in the Study Area the longest were aware of the greatest number of stores. When it was suggested that this familiarity was significantly related to the type of grocery store patronized (supermarket versus corner store) it was found that no such relationship existed.

It was concluded that the low income or poverty level shoppers were just as aware of the pricing differences between the store types and the advantages of bulk purchasing as were the higher income respondents. However, due to their limited mobility and the problems of storage, many low income shoppers were forced to shop more frequently and to purchase small uneconomical packages. For these reasons, many took advantage of

the convenience associated with the nearby corner stores even though they were aware of the higher prices these stores generally charged. Therefore, the low income shoppers, as a group, were not any less effective in their grocery shopping ability, but rather were restrained by the above situational factors. It was also concluded that both groups had similar shopping scopes and that shopping was not related to the type of grocery store patronized.

The final section consisted of a comparison of the satisfaction levels the two income groups recorded regarding the prices, selection, quality of merchandise, service and the interior of the store they patronized. Consumer satisfaction was measured on a scale of poor to excellent for each of the categories and the assigned values ranged from 1.0 to 5.0. When the mean scores (X) were calculated for the two income groups it was found that the two groups did not vary significantly except in the case of corner store shoppers and those who shopped outside of the Study Area for their groceries (excluding Woodwards at Edmonton Center). The higher income corner store shoppers consistently rated the corner stores higher than did the low income group. This may suggest that the low income corner store shoppers based their patronage decisions more on necessity than choice. Overall, corner stores were rated lower than the other stores on all characteristics except quality of service which received the highest ratings. Those low income shoppers who patronized stores outside the Study Area held those stores in greater regard than the higher income shoppers. This may suggest that those lower income shoppers who are willing to invest more effort into their shopping trips are able to reap greater rewards and satisfaction. It was concluded that this type of measurement produced meaningful results. The next chapter will deal with the durable goods shopping behavior of the respondents.

CHAPTER 6

DURABLE SHOPPING PATTERNS AND BEHAVIOR

Chapter Five dealt with grocery shopping patterns and behavior and it was concluded that there were some differences between the low income and the higher income groups. This chapter will be concerned with the durable shopping habits of the respondents. Durable goods are defined as shopping goods such as furniture, household appliances or clothing. These are items which are not frequently required and consumers are generally thought to be willing to spend more time and effort when shopping for them in order to obtain a comparison of quality, design and price (National Economic Development Office, 1970).

The issues to be dealt with include where and the distance the respondents travel to durable shop, what type of store (department store, boutique or specialty store, discount store or second-hand store) he selects and the reason he gives for patronizing that particular store. As well, the amount of pre-purchase or comparative shopping he engages in and his use of credit will be taken into consideration. Finally, the shopper's opinion towards the store he has patronized will be discussed. These opinions relate to five areas of consumer satisfaction as defined by Downs (1970) plus one other area, satisfaction with the provision of warranties, servicing or exchange of goods policy, that was introduced into this study.It is hoped this will shed light on what factors are of importance to the low income shopper in his patronage decision and will, at the very least, tell us how satisfied these shoppers are with the

various types of stores they shop at, including the second-hand stores within the Study Area.

RESEARCH METHOD

The respondents were asked where they had purchased, within the last twelve months, a major durable item such as furniture or a household appliance. Those who had not made such a purchase within the last year were asked where they last purchased clothing. They were also asked why they had chosen that store, how many other stores they had shopped at in order to make a comparison of price and quality, and how they had paid for it. Finally, they were asked to rate the store they had selected with respect to six different areas of consumer satisfaction. Table 43 shows the breakdown of purchases by income and it can be seen that the majority of the low income shoppers had not made a major durable purchase other than clothing in the twelve months preceding the interview.

TABLE 43: TYPE OF MAJOR PURCHASE BY INCOME LEVEL

PURCHASE	INCOME LEVEL			
	Low		Higher	
	N	%	N	%
Clothing	66	55.9	14	19.2
T.V.; Stereo	27	22.9	21	28.8
Furniture	15	12.7	25	34.2
Household Appliance	10	8.5	13	17.8
Total	118	100	73	100

DISTANCE TO DURABLES SHOP

As discussed in Chapter Five, distance to shop is of interest to geographers in describing human spatial behavior and for theoretical reasons relating to Central Place Theory and the hierarchical commercial structure

that has emerged in urban areas. Further, the shopping hierarchy within low income areas tends to be much simpler than the higher income urban areas (Berry, 1963). Low income areas contain fewer and smaller planned centers and are often characterized by "traditional shopping streets" where small shops locate. These shops sell second-hand or little known brands at high mark-ups and often on credit at exhorbitant rates of interest (Caplovitz, 1963; Feldman, 1970). Berry (1963) has attributed this particular shopping structure to the lack of purchasing power these low income consumers possess. Holly and Wheeler (1972), however, have stated that the lack of mobility of these shoppers restricts their range of travel. As a result, these small businesses locate along arterials within or adjacent to low income areas in order to take advantage of this immobile clientele.

The respondents were found to restrict much of their durable shopping to within the Study Area (37.0 per cent) or the adjacent CBD (42.7 per cent). However, a significant proportion (20.3 per cent) made their purchases at one of the suburban regional shopping centers or at one of the more distant shopping streets. Therefore, the first hypotheses to be tested are concerned with the distance travelled and area in which the two income groups did their durable shopping.

In his Vancouver study, Gaylor (1974) found that low income shoppers travelled considerably less distance when shopping for durable goods than did the higher income groups. However, no mention was made of the locational opportunities available to the various groups. For instance, if the higher income groups lived in the suburbs, then they may have had to travel further to reach a shopping center than would inner city residents living adjacent to the CBD. In the present study, the availability

of locational opportunities (durable goods stores) are held constant because the two income groups, the poverty level and the non-poverty level, all reside within the same geographical area and are, therefore, equidistant from the shopping facilities. Thus, it is possible to measure the distance each groups travels and to conclude whether or not there are any significant differences between the groups.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant difference between how far the respondents travel to durable shop and income levels.

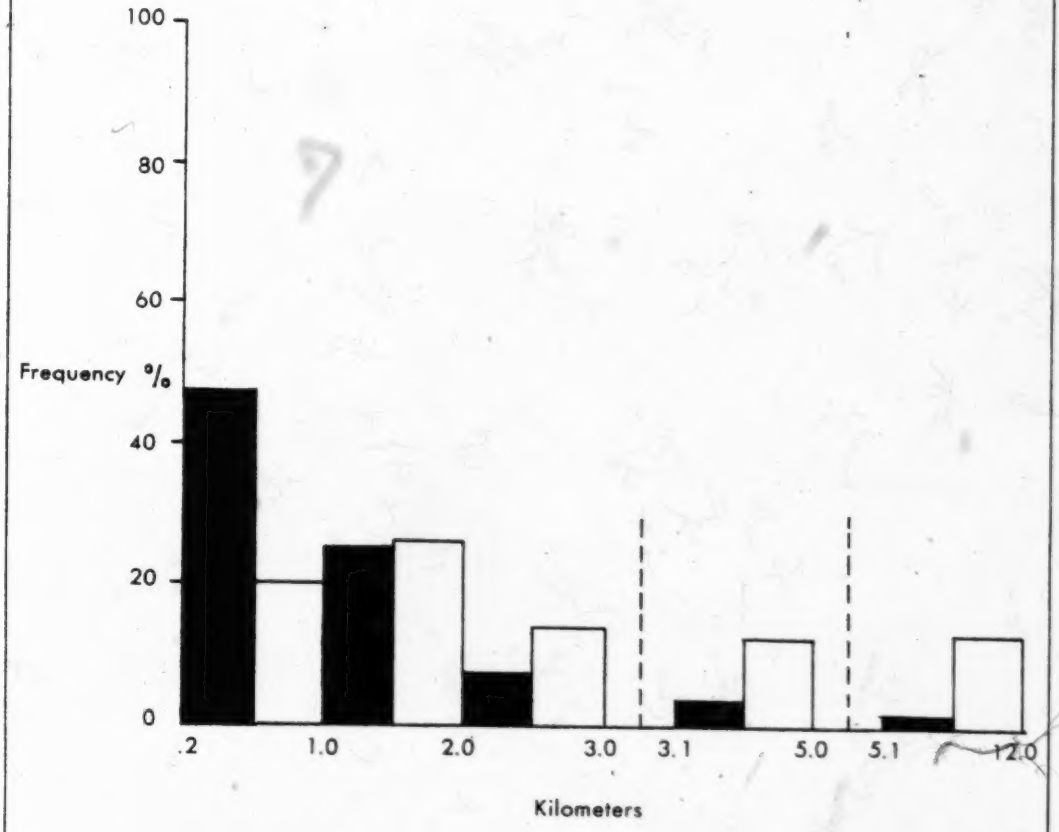
H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference between how far the respondents travel to durable shop and income levels.

Figure 11 indicates that the higher income group travelled further to shop (mean of 2.45 km compared to 1.50 km for the low income group) despite the fact that both groups had equal access to the available stores. Since the chi-square score is greater than that required for significance at the 0.05 level, the research hypothesis (H_1) stating that there is a relationship between income level and distance travelled to durable shop is accepted. However, since clothing items and other goods such as stereos, televisions and furniture have been combined, the above results may be misleading. It may be that consumers, both low and higher income, are willing to travel greater distances for the more expensive household goods. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the distances travelled for clothing and furniture/appliances separately.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between distance travelled to purchase clothing and income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference between distance travelled to purchase clothing and income level.

The x^2 value shown in Table 44 is below the critical value of



$\chi^2 = 30.84$; d.f. = 4, P = 0.001

Low Income

Higher Income

Figure 11

DISTANCE TO DURABLE SHOP

5.99 required to reject the null hypothesis (H_0) at the significance level of 0.05. However, this low score may be due to the small number of higher income respondents (14) in the clothing sample, thus reducing the statistical effectiveness of the test. The question of significance becomes more apparent when the mean distanaces of the two groups (1.4 km for the low income group and 2.3 km for the higher income group) are considered. Fortunately, for statistical purposes, the furniture/appliance samples are larger (TABLE 45).

TABLE 44: DISTANCE TO CLOTHING SHOP BY INCOME LEVEL

DISTANCE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Less than 1 km	30	46.2	3	21.4	33
1.0 to 2.9 km	26	40.0	7	50.0	33
Greater than 2.0 km	9	13.8	4	28.6	13
Total	65	100	14	100	79

$x^2 = 3.47$, d.f. = 2, not significant at the 0.05 level

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant difference in the distance travelled to shop for furniture/ appliances and the respondent's income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference in the distance travelled to shop for furniture/ appliances and the respondent's income level.

In the case of furniture/appliance shoppers, the research hypothesis (H_1) stating that there is a significant difference between the two groups is accepted and the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected (TABLE 45). The higher income group tended to travel greater distances to shop (mean distance of 2.4 km) than did the low income group (mean distance of 1.5 km).

It is apparent, then, that when shopping for durable goods, the

TABLE 45: DISTANCE TO SHOP FOR FURNITURE/APPLIANCES BY INCOME

DISTANCE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Less than 1.0 km	14	28.6	10	17.5	24
1.0 to 2.0 km	25	51.0	23	40.4	48
Greater than 2.0 km	10	20.4	24	42.1	34
Total	49	100	57	100	106

$\chi^2 = 5.91$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.05

low income consumer travels less distance to shop even though both groups are equidistant from the set of available opportunities or stores. This may be the direct result of a lack of mobility by the low income group who have a much lower rate of automobile ownership although this difference was not apparent in the distance to grocery shop. The difference may also be the result of different patronage preferences by the two groups. Some researchers (Caplovitz, 1963; Feldman, 1970) have suggested that the poor have to shop at those smaller, non-chain stores that will extend credit to them while Levy (1968) has stated that the low income consumer will avoid the impersonal department stores and seek out the friendly reception of local shop owners, many of whom locate on the arterials radiating out of the CBD (Holly and Wheeler, 1972). In Britain, Davies (1968) and Nader (1969) have both found that the low income shopper is much more dependent upon the smaller, low order retail stores within his immediate neighbourhood. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that the low income respondent in the present study is more likely to shop within the Study Area for durable goods than is the higher income shopper. The higher income shoppers, most of whom have access to an automobile, can be

expected to travel further (as was established earlier) to the outlying suburban shopping centers or specialized areas such as the furniture district at 124 Street from Jasper Avenue north to 111 Avenue.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant difference between the area of the city the consumer shops at and his income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference between the area of the city the consumer shops at and his income level.

TABLE 46: AREA FOR DURABLES SHOPPING BY INCOME LEVEL

AREA	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Within Study Area	50	42.0	21	28.8	71
Downtown (CBD)	54	45.4	28	38.4	82
Shopping Malls	7	5.9	14	19.2	21
Shopping Streets	8	6.7	10	13.7	18
Total	119	100	73	100	192

$\chi^2 = 12.37$, d.f. = 3, P = 0.01

As was anticipated, a greater number of low income respondents confined their durable shopping to the Study Area and a greater proportion of the higher income shoppers patronized the more distant shopping malls and shopping streets (TABLE 46). The research hypothesis (H_1) is therefore accepted (χ^2 significant at the 0.01 level). However, it is still not known if the low income respondents are shopping at a different type of store (second-hand, discount, boutique or department store) than the higher income shopper or whether both groups are frequenting similar types of stores. This issue will be addressed in the next section.

TYPE OF DURABLES SHOPPING STORE

If, as the literature suggests, different socio-economic groups prefer different types of stores (Chapter Four), this will be reflected in the behavior of the respondents in the present study. The stores that the respondents last shopped at were grouped into four categories. The department store group was made up of large stores such as Eatons, Woodwards and Zellers who offer a wide range and selection of goods and have a revolving credit plan. The second group contains boutiques (clothing stores) and specialty stores (stereos, appliances) that carry a large selection of a specific type of good. The discount stores (Army and Navy, Big Brick Warehouse) have a reputation for cheaper prices and limited customer service. Finally, the second-hand stores were made up of both privately operated stores, such as pawn shops, and charitable operations, such as the Salvation Army and the Bissel Center. The charitable second-hand stores did not offer credit, while the private second-hand stores will make credit arrangements with individual customers. The department stores were found within the CBD and in all the major suburban shopping centers while the discount stores were located within the Study Area and in the outlying suburbs. The specialty stores were found throughout the city and the second-hand stores were confined to the Study Area. Tables 47 and 48 show that there was very little difference between the two income groups and the type of store they patronized although a slightly higher (12.5 per cent compared to 9.9 per cent) of the low income shoppers shopped at second-hand stores.

So far it has been shown that although the low income respondents travel less distance to durable shop, they tend to shop at the same type of stores that the higher income group patronizes. These findings suggest

TABLE 47: TYPE OF STORE FOR CLOTHING PURCHASES BY INCOME LEVEL

STORE TYPE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Department Stores	32	48.5	7	50.0	39
Boutiques	4	6.1	2	14.3	6
Discount Stores	25	37.9	5	35.7	30
Second-Hand Stores	5	7.5	--	--	5
Total	66	100	14	100	80

Sample too small for statistical signficance.

TABLE 48: TYPE OF STORE FOR FURNITURE/APPLIANCE PURCHASES BY INCOME LEVEL

STORE TYPE	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Department Stores	17	37.0	26	45.6	43
Specialty Stores	12	26.1	13	22.8	25
Discount Stores	8	17.4	11	19.3	19
Second-Hand Stores	9	19.5	7	12.3	16
Total	46	100	57	100	103

$\chi^2 = 1.52$, d.f. = 3, not significant at the 0.05 level

that the shopping behavior of the two groups is similar althouth the low income group is restricted spatially due to the lack of automobile ownership. The final question, then, that relates to the shopping behavior of the two groups is the reason the shoppers give for chosing their particular store. For example, Samli (1968) states that low income consumers are more concerned with price than quality and selection while the higher income shoppers are more selective and concerned with quality. Others (Levy, 1968; Feldman, 1970) have stated that low income shoppers will

patronize local stores where they will get a friendly reception and, if need be, credit.

The respondents were asked to give the major reason (open-ended) they chose the particular store they last shopped at. It is then possible to see what differences, if any, there are in the patronage decisions of the two groups. The answers were grouped into eight mutually exclusive categories in order that the chi-square (x^2) test of independence may be employed.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant difference in the reasons given for patronizing a durables store and the respondent's income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant difference in the reasons given for patronizing a durables store and the respondent's income level.

TABLE 49: REASON FOR PATRONIZING DURABLES STORE BY INCOME LEVEL

REASON	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
Close	22	18.8	9	12.3	31
Cheaper prices	39	33.3	23	31.5	62
Familiar, Enjoy	25	21.4	13	17.8	38
Selection	9	7.7	7	9.6	16
Reputation, Advertising	8	6.8	9	12.3	17
Credit available	6	5.1	2	2.7	8
Recommended	6	5.1	3	4.1	9
Takes trade-in or discount through friend	2	1.7	7	9.6	9
Total	117	100	73	100	190

$x^2 = 9.70$, d.f. = 7, not significant at the 0.05 level

Although there are some differences in the reason given for shopping by the two groups (TABLE 49), these differences are not considered to be statistically significant and therefore the null hypothesis (H_0) is

accepted. Cheaper prices was given as the reason for choosing the store most frequently by both groups (31.5 per cent and 33.3 per cent for the higher income group and lower income group respectively) and familiarity with the store placed second as the answer most frequently given (17.8 per cent and 21.4 per cent respectively). More of the low income group (18.8 per cent compared to 12.3 per cent) gave closeness to the store as the reason and more of the higher income group gave store reputation as the major consideration (12.3 per cent compared to 6.8 per cent). Availability of credit was rarely stated as the major factor in the patronage decision although slightly more of the low income group (5.1 per cent compared to 2.7 per cent) gave credit at the major reason. When each type of store is considered separately (TABLE 50), only the discount store shoppers gave significantly different reasons for their patronage. The majority of the low income discount store shoppers (63.6 per cent) were concerned with cheaper prices while 31.6 per cent of the higher income shoppers stated that recommendation by family or friends, reputation or selection of goods was the major consideration.

It would seem, therefore, that the shopping behavior of the two groups, in terms of the type of store patronized and the reason for doing so, is not radically different. In fact, the only major difference is in distance travelled to shop and this appears to be more the result of a lack of mobility than any behavior or preferential differences. The next section will be concerned with two other facets of shopping behavior, comparative shopping and the use of credit, which various researchers have identified as being problem areas for the low income consumer.

TABLE 50: REASON FOR CHOOSING DURABLES STORE BY TYPE OF STORE

REASON	DEPARTMENT [1]				BOUTIQUE/ SPECIALTY [2]				DISCOUNT [3]				SECOND-HAND [4]			
Income Level:	Low		Higher		Low		Higher		Low		Higher		Low		Higher	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Close	8	16.3	3	9.1	1	5.0	1	6.3	10	30.3	5	26.3	3	21.4	--	--
Recommended	2	3.1	--	--	3	15.0	--	--	1	3.0	2	10.5	--	--	1	25.0
Familiar	23	46.9	10	30.3	1	5.0	1	6.3	--	--	1	5.3	1	7.1	1	25.0
Cheaper prices	4	8.2	8	24.2	5	25.0	6	47.5	21	63.6	7	36.8	9	64.3	1	25.0
Trade - in	--	--	2	6.1	1	5.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Discount	--	--	2	6.1	--	--	2	12.5	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	25.0
Selection	6	12.2	1	3.0	2	10.0	5	31.3	--	--	1	5.3	1	7.1	--	--
Reputation	3	6.1	5	15.2	4	20.0	1	6.3	1	3.0	3	15.8	--	--	--	--
Credit	3	6.1	2	6.1	3	15.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	49	100	33	100	20	100	16	100	33	100	19	100	14	100	4	100

[1] $\chi^2 = 5.07$, d.f. = 3, not significant at the 0.05 level

[2] $\chi^2 = 0.65$, d.f. = 2, not significant at the 0.05 level

[3] $\chi^2 = 8.21$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.02

[4] sample too small for statistical significance

COMPARATIVE SHOPPING

The greater the amount of pre-purchase comparative shopping the consumer engages in, the greater are his chances of making a wise choice. Research has indicated that the low income shoppers engage in less comparative shopping than the higher income groups (Caplovitz, 1963; Goldman, 1976). These researchers have concluded that low income shoppers have a narrower shopping scope and are therefore at a disadvantage in the market place. The respondents were asked how many stores they visited when making their last major purchase. In this way it is possible to test if there are significant differences in the pre-purchase behavior or shopping scope of the two income groups.

H_0 (null hypothesis): The amount of pre-purchase comparative shopping is not significantly related to the respondent's income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The amount of pre-purchase comparative shopping is significantly related to the respondent's income level.

TABLE 51: AMOUNT OF COMPARATIVE SHOPPING FOR DURABLE GOODS BY INCOME LEVEL

NUMBER OF STORES	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
None	60	50.0	39	48.8	99
1 to 3 stores	40	33.3	15	18.8	45
4 or more stores	20	16.7	26	32.5	46
Total	120	100	80	100	200

$\chi^2 = 11.46$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.01

Table 51 shows that although one-half of both groups did not engage in any comparative shopping on their last major durables purchase, those in the higher income group that did shop around tended to do so to

a greater extent than the low income shoppers. The research hypothesis (H_1) is accepted although there still remains the question of whether clothing shoppers and furniture/appliance shoppers engage in the same level of comparative shopping. This is an important consideration because of the larger number of higher income respondents who had made a furniture/appliance purchase on their last major shopping trip.

H_0 (null hypothesis): The amount of comparative shopping for clothing is not significantly related to the respondent's income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The amount of comparative shopping for clothing is significantly related to the respondent's income level.

TABLE 52: AMOUNT OF COMPARATIVE SHOPPING FOR CLOTHING BY INCOME LEVEL

NUMBER OF STORES	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
None	31	47.0	6	42.9	37
1 to 3 stores	23	34.8	4	28.6	27
4 or more stores	12	18.2	4	28.6	16
Total	66	100	14	100	80

$\chi^2 = 0.79$, d.f. = 2, not significant at the 0.05 level

For clothing shopping, the null hypothesis (H_0) stating that the amount of comparative shopping is not related to income level is accepted. Both groups appear to engage in similar amounts of pre-purchase shopping although it should be noted that the higher income sample is very small (14) thus reducing the effectiveness of the statistical test (TABLE 52).

H_0 (null hypothesis): The amount of comparative shopping for furniture/appliances is not significantly related to the respondent's income level.

H_1 (research hypothesis): The amount of comparative shopping for

furniture/appliances is significantly related to the respondent's income level.

TABLE 53: AMOUNT OF COMPARATIVE SHOPPING FOR FURNITURE/APPLIANCES BY INCOME LEVEL

NUMBER OF STORES	INCOME LEVEL				
	Low		Higher		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
None	29	53.7	33	50.0	62
1 to 3 stores	17	31.5	11	16.7	28
4 or more stores	8	14.8	22	33.3	30
Total	54	100	66	100	120

$\chi^2 = 6.95$, d.f. = 2, P = 0.03

In the case of furniture/appliance shopping there is a significant difference in the amount of comparative shopping and the research hypothesis (H_1) is accepted. Although similar proportions of both groups did not engage in any comparative shopping, one third of the higher income group shopped at four or more places compared to only 14.8 per cent of the low income group (TABLE 53).

While it has been demonstrated that the higher income group engages in more comparative shopping than the low income group, at least for furniture/appliance purchases, one-half of each group did not shop around at all during their last purchase. If it is true that those shoppers with a narrow shopping scope are at a disadvantage in today's market place, then it is important for policy makers and educators to be able to identify those with limited shopping scopes in order to direct their educational programs to them. Educational levels and age of the shopper, as well as income level, have been singled out as being important variables in the level of pre-purchase comparative shopping (Caplovitz, 1963; Andreasen, 1975; Goldman, 1976).

The relationship between the shopper's age and educational level and the amount of comparative shopping will now be tested.

H_0 (null hypothesis): There is no significant relationship between the level of comparative shopping and the respondent's age.

H_1 (research hypothesis): There is a significant relationship between the level of comparative shopping and the respondent's age.

TABLE 54: AMOUNT OF COMPARATIVE SHOPPING BY THE RESPONDENT'S AGE

NUMBER OF STORES	AGE								
	16 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 54		55 plus		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
None	14	35.0	20	42.6	33	57.9	32	57.1	99
1 to 3 stores	13	32.5	18	38.3	9	15.8	15	26.8	55
4 or more stores	13	32.5	9	19.1	15	26.3	9	16.1	46
Total	40	100	47	100	57	100	56	100	200

$\chi^2 = 12.24$, d.f. = 6, P = 0.05

According to Table 54, age is significantly related to the amount of comparative shopping and the research hypothesis (H_1) is accepted. It is evident that the younger shoppers engage in more comparative shopping than do the older shoppers, particularly those 55 years of age and older. This trend may be attributed to the greater energy the young are said to possess or it may be that they view shopping as a form of recreation although Mason and Smith (1974) have suggested that the elderly look upon shopping as an enjoyable pastime. As well, it may be suggested that as one acquires a lifetime of experience, one is better able to recognize a bargain and the need for comparative shopping is reduced.

H_0 (null hypothesis): Educational attainment of the respondent is not significantly related to the level of comparative shopping.

H_1 (research hypothesis): Educational attainment of the respondent is significantly related to the level of comparative shopping.

TABLE 55: AMOUNT OF COMPARATIVE SHOPPING BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

NUMBER OF STORES	EDUCATION								
	0 - 8		9 - 11		12 or Tech		University		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
None	44	55.0	28	47.5	17	39.5	10	55.6	99
1 to 3 stores	24	30.0	15	25.4	12	27.9	4	22.2	55
4 or more stores	12	15.0	16	27.1	14	32.6	4	22.2	46
Total	80	100	59	100	43	100	18	100	200

$\chi^2 = 6.37$, d.f. = 6, not significant at the 0.05 level

The amount of comparative shopping by educational attainment does not vary enough to be statistically significant and therefore the null hypothesis (H_0) is accepted (TABLE 55). The group with a high school or technical school education engaged in the most comparative shopping, but, surprisingly, those who had attended university reported a low level of comparative pre-purchase shopping. This may mean that there are underlying factors that have not been identified and that more research is required in this area such as the type of good being sought or the price range of the good.

Although there are some differences in the amount of comparative shopping by the two groups, these differences are not extreme. Half of both the low income and higher income group did not engage in comparative shopping. The higher income shoppers who did comparative shop tended to shop at more stores than the low income shoppers. The youngest shoppers (16 - 24) did the most pre-purchase shopping as did those with a high school or technical school education. Therefore, it can be concluded that if comparative

shopping is an indicator of shopping scope, the low income sample has a slightly narrower shopping scope than the higher income group.

USE OF CREDIT

The need for credit has been identified as being a major influence in the shopping behavior of low income consumers (Caplovitz, 1963; Sturdivant, 1969; Feldman, 1970). Forced to turn to unscrupulous businessmen who charge high rates of interest, the poor are said to be locked into a situation where they purchase over-priced, inferior merchandise with credit plans they fail to understand. However, few of the low income respondents in this study reported using credit or even having access to credit. The following, therefore, is a brief description of the use of credit by the respondents.

The large majority (78.9 per cent) of the low income group had no access to credit of any kind while over one-half (51.2 per cent) of the higher income group had at least one credit account or charge card. The majority of both groups stated that they used their credit infrequently when shopping (TABLE 56) and the majority used their credit for furniture/appliance purchases (TABLE 57) rather than for clothing.

TABLE 56: USE OF CREDIT BY THE RESPONDENTS

FREQUENCY OF USE	INCOME LEVEL	
	Low	Higher
	N	N
Always	3	3
Sometimes	18	31
Never	2	6
Total	23	40

TABLE 57: USE OF CREDIT FOR LAST MAJOR PURCHASE

PURCHASE	INCOME LEVEL			
	Low Income		Higher Income	
	Cash	Credit	Cash	Credit
	N	N	N	N
Clothing	62	4	11	3
Furniture/Appliance	39	14	45	19
Total	101	18	56	22

TABLE 58: USE OF CREDIT BY TYPE OF STORE

TYPE OF STORE	INCOME LEVEL	
	Low	Higher
	N	N
Department Store	9	13
Boutique/Specialty	6	3
Discount Store	2	4
Second-Hand Store	1	2
Door-to-Door Sales	-	1

Table 58 shows that the majority of both groups who used credit for their last purchase did so at one of the established department stores such as Woodwards, Eatons or Zellers. A few took advantage of credit plans offered by the discount type stores (W.W. Arcade and The Big Brick Warehouse) and some had credit with specialty stores or boutiques. Only three of the entire sample, two of which were classed as higher income, had purchased an item (a television set) from the fourth category. These two small stores (Crosstown T.V. and U.C.T.V) were located within the Study Area and come the closest to resembling the type of store that Caplovitz, Holly and Wheeler, and other researchers describe as being the typical type of store low income shoppers patronize. As well, only one household had purchased

an item (vacuum cleaner) from a door-to-door salesman on credit.

It would appear, therefore, that the sample of low income inner city residents in Edmonton do not behave in the same manner with regard to credit as do the low income inner city residents who have been studied in American cities. Very few used credit and the great majority of those who did, used the conventional kinds of credit offered to all Edmonton residents who present themselves as being reasonable credit risks. Whenever the interviewer questioned the respondents about their use of credit, he inevitably received a lecture on the evils of credit and the advantages of paying cash whenever possible. Whether or not this was a sincere response or whether it was the result of being denied credit cannot be stated for certain. Perhaps this would be a useful area for further research. The final section of this chapter is devoted to the attitudes the respondents had towards the stores they shopped at.

SHOPPING SATISFACTION

It has been established that, with the exception of discount store shoppers, consumers from both income groups express similar reasons for their patronage decisions. The need for credit does not appear to be a factor of importance in the selection process, the low income shoppers do not restrict their shopping to the small shops within the Study Area and the higher income shoppers do not seen to have substantially wider shopping scopes. The only major difference is in the distance travelled to durable shop and this seems attributable to the greater level of automobile ownership among the higher income group. The final area of investigation this thesis will address is whether the low income or poverty level shoppers are any more or less satisfied with the stores they shop at. For instance, according to Martineau (1958) different socio-economic groups prefer

different types of stores. Caplovitz (1963) and Feldman (1970) suggest that the poor feel uncomfortable in the large, impersonal department stores and prefer the friendly, face-to-face reception they receive in the smaller neighbourhood stores. In order to test the validity of these theories, or at least their relevance to the Edmonton situation, the five areas of consumer satisfaction as defined by Downs (1970) and discussed in Chapter Five with regard to grocery stores were employed in the durable shopping section of the interviews. As well, a sixth area, satisfaction with warranties or the exchange of goods policy, was introduced into this study. The method used was identical to that described in Chapter Five where the respondents were asked to rank the store they shopped at on a five point scale ranging from "excellent" to "poor". Values were assigned to each response ranging from a score of 5.0 for "excellent" to 1.0 for "poor". Therefore, it was possible to calculate the mean scores ($\overline{X}$) for each of the two income groups regarding all six categories. The results are presented in Table 59.

Overall, both groups rated department stores the highest, followed by the specialty stores or boutiques, discount stores and, finally, second-hand stores. The low income group tended to rate the first three store types more favourably than the higher income group, while the higher income shoppers were generally more satisfied with the second-hand stores than the poverty level group (TABLE 60). There appears to be very little evidence that low income shoppers are intimidated by the larger department stores or that they prefer the face-to-face reception they receive at the small local stores. The low income respondents rated the quality of service at the department stores highly and rated the second-hand stores the lowest in this regard. The higher income shoppers were pleased with the service they received in the second-hand stores as well as with the selection,

TABLE 59: MEAN VALUE JUDGEMENT SCORES ($\overline{X}$) FOR DURABLE STORE TYPES

SELECTION	INCOME LEVEL Low $\overline{X}$	Higher $\overline{X}$
Department Stores	4.06	4.00
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	3.71	3.43
Discount Stores	3.61	3.50
Second-Hand Stores	3.07	4.00
PRICES		
Department Stores	3.20	3.65
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	3.33	3.57
Discount Stores	3.94	3.94
Second-Hand Stores	3.14	3.75
QUALITY OF GOODS		
Department Stores	3.94	3.65
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	3.76	3.86
Discount Stores	3.15	3.06
Second-Hand Stores	3.14	3.50
INTERIOR OF STORE		
Department Stores	4.19	3.97
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	3.90	3.29
Discount Stores	3.55	3.39
Second-Hand Stores	2.79	2.25
QUALITY OF SERVICE		
Department Stores	3.96	4.03
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	4.30	4.07
Discount Stores	3.73	3.67
Second-Hand Stores	3.36	4.50
WARRANTY, RETURN OF GOODS POLICY		
Department Stores	4.05	3.81
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	3.95	3.57
Discount Stores	3.62	3.81
Second-Hand Stores	2.54	2.50

TABLE 60: TOTAL OF MEAN VALUE JUDGEMENT SCORES FOR DURABLE STORE TYPES

STORE TYPE	INCOME LEVEL	
	Low	Higher
Department Stores	23.40	22.61
Boutiques or Specialty Stores	22.95	21.79
Discount Stores	21.60	21.37
Second-Hand Stores	18.04	20.50

quality and price of goods these stores offered.

It can be stated with reasonable certainty that the poverty level shoppers in the Study Area are more than satisfied with the opportunity to shop in the large "impersonal" department stores and that both groups are aware of the lower prices generally offered in the discount stores. The fact that the low income shoppers were less then satisfied with the second-hand stores in comparison to the higher income shoppers suggests that the few who did patronize this type of store did so more out of necessity than choice. It is logical to assume that this necessity stems more from the lack of available funds then the problem of mobility. Finally, as was found in Chapter Five, this type of scaling technique, which is easily administered to poverty level respondents who may have had little or no formal schooling, appears to provide useful and meaningful results.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the durable goods shopping behavior of the respondents was analyzed and comparisons were drawn between the low income or poverty level group and the non-poverty group. The first section was concerned with the distance the two groups travelled to durable shop, the second section dealt with the type of store they patronized, the third section was concerned with the amount of comparative shopping the respondents

engaged in and their use of credit, and the final section involved a discussion of the shoppers' satisfaction levels regarding the stores they shopped at.

The respondents were asked to state where they had last purchased a major durable item in the twelve months preceding the interview. Over one-half of the low income group had not made a major purchase such as a household appliance or furniture. In these cases, their last purchase of a clothing item was recorded. It was found that the higher income group travelled considerably farther to shop for durables (mean distance of 2.45 km compared to 1.50 for the low income group) and that while the large majority of the low income group confined their shopping to the Study Area or the nearby CBD, the higher income group was more disposed to travel to the more distant suburban shopping malls and shopping streets. It was concluded that for major purchases such as furniture and appliances, higher income shoppers are more willing to travel greater distances.

In order to find out whether this was simply the result of greater mobility due to higher levels of automobile ownership, the desire by the higher income shoppers to shop at different types of stores or whether the higher income group employed a more extensive search procedure which resulted in purchases at more distant destinations, other aspects of the respondent's shopping behavior was taken into consideration. It was found that there was very little difference in the type of store patronized by the two income groups although a slightly greater proportion of the low income shoppers frequented the second-hand stores within the Study Area. When the reasons given for choosing the stores was taken into account, it was found that the two groups gave similar answers although a slightly greater proportion of the low income group cited closeness of the store and the availability of

credit as the deciding factors. When the reasons for selection were compared for the different store types, only the discount store shoppers gave significantly different answers based on income levels. The majority of the low income discount store shoppers were concerned with either the nearness of the store or the cheaper prices while the higher income shoppers were more inclined to give reputation, recommendation by acquaintances, familiarity or selection of goods as the major factors in the patronage decision. At this point in the discussion, it was suggested that the greater mobility of the higher income group was responsible for the apparent differences in durable shopping behavior and that the two income groups displayed similar preferences with regard to the type of store.

When the amount of comparative pre-purchase shopping was analyzed, it was found that one-half of both groups had not engaged in any comparative shopping during their last purchase. However, the higher income shoppers who did shop around tended to visit more stores than did the low income comparison shoppers. It was also found that those shoppers in the youngest age group (16 - 24 years) and those with high school or technical school education engaged in the greatest amount of comparative shopping. It was concluded that the younger shoppers either had more energy or that shopping was a form of recreation for them and that the older shoppers may benefit more from their years of experience, thus reducing their desire for pre-purchase comparisons. It was also concluded that if comparative shopping is an indicator of shopping scope as some researchers suggest, then the low income sample had a slightly narrower shopping scope than the higher income group.

Finally, it was found that while over half of the higher income group had at least one credit card or charge account, nearly 80 per cent

of the low income group had no credit whatsoever. Credit holders from both groups reported using their privileges infrequently and generally only for the purchase of high ticket items such as furniture or television sets. Nearly all the credit accounts were with the larger department stores or specialty stores. It was concluded that the poverty level respondents were not dependent upon the small stores for credit and that there was no evidence of door-to-door salesmen who pressured residents into accepting such lines of credit.

In the last section, it was noted that the low income shoppers, contrary to statements made by other researchers, enjoyed shopping in the larger department stores. It was also pointed out that the low income shoppers held the second-hand stores in low regard suggesting that they, unlike the higher income group, patronized them out of necessity rather than choice. The next, and final, chapter will consist of a summary of the study and the resulting conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to examine the consumer spatial behavior of low income shoppers in Edmonton in order to identify the underlying determinants so that this behavior might be better understood. To fulfill this aim, a low income area was identified and members of 205 households were interviewed. Information regarding their grocery and durable goods shopping habits, their reasons for store and package selection and their levels of satisfaction with the stores they shopped at were recorded as well as their socio-economic characteristics. Even though steps were taken to avoid the inclusion of higher income or non-poverty households, one third of the households interviewed were found to lie above the poverty line as defined by Statistics Canada. Rather than discard this data, it was decided that comparisons between the two income groups could be drawn. This provided a unique opportunity to observe the consumer behavior of low income and higher income shoppers who were being served by the same retail structure. This chapter reviews the results of the research and assesses the extent to which the aims outlined above have been fulfilled.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The grocery shopping and durable goods shopping habits of the two groups were compared as were their reasons for doing so and their value judgements of the stores they shopped at. With regard to grocery shopping, distances to shop for the two groups were nearly identical with

the majority of both groups patronized the two Canada Safeway Stores within the Study Area. However, a small, but significant, proportion of the low income shoppers patronized the small corner stores located throughout the Boyle Street/McCauley neighborhood. Since these stores charge substantially higher prices than the supermarkets and have a very limited selection of brands and package sizes, it was suggested that corner store shoppers were unaware of the advantages associated with shopping at the larger supermarkets. It was found, however, that these shoppers were just as aware of the pricing differential between the store types and the advantages of purchasing in bulk as the supermarket shoppers, regardless of income. Instead, it was discovered that the corner store shoppers did not own cars, most were single and that the Italian-born respondents had a tendency to shop at stores operated by Italian-speaking proprietors. It was suggested that those single residents living in small rooms without freezers and/or refrigerators took advantage of the convenience associated with the nearby corner stores on their daily shopping trips. Shopping scope, or the awareness of grocery stores within the area, was found to be associated with neither income level nor type of store patronized. It was concluded that the corner store shoppers, and low income shoppers in general, were equally aware of the shopping alternatives, the disadvantages of corner store shopping and that they were not dependent upon the small corner store owners for credit. Rather, their shopping behavior was the result of reduced mobility due to low levels of car ownership and the need for frequent shopping trips necessitated by inadequate storage facilities. Not suprisingly, the Italian-born respondents preferred those stores that catered to their particular ethnic tastes.

The major difference in the durable shopping behavior of the two

income groups was found to be in distance travelled. The higher income group had a tendency to travel further to the more distant regional shopping centers and shopping streets. The large majority of the low income shoppers restricted their durable shopping trips to the Study Area or the nearby CBD. In general, both groups patronized similar types of stores and gave similar reasons for doing so with the exception of discount store shoppers. One-half of both groups did not engage in any comparative shopping on their last major purchase although those higher income shoppers who did shop around tended to visit more stores than the low income comparative shoppers. Even though a much greater proportion of the higher income group had access to at least one type of credit, the use of credit by both groups was infrequent and usually for the more expensive items such as furniture or household appliances. There was no evidence that the low income shoppers were dependent upon or preferred to shop at the small independently operated stores within the Study Area. In fact, low income shoppers held these stores in low regard and expressed a strong preference for the large department stores in the CBD. It was concluded, once again, that reduced mobility and, in the case of low income shoppers who patronized the second-hand stores within the Study Area, a lack of financial resources were the major reasons for the different shopping patterns of the two groups.

EVALUATION OF RESULTS

Since both income groups resided in the same geographical area and were therefore served by the same retail structure, it was possible to observe whether or not there were significant differences in how these consumers functioned within this retail environment. The fact that the large majority of both income groups shopped for groceries within the Study Area lends support to the findings of other researchers who have found that

regardless of the type of shopping structure that exists, people will shop locally for low order goods such as groceries. As well, the fact that the poverty level respondents demonstrated similar levels of knowledge concerning those variables associated with shopping effectiveness suggests that they are not at a disadvantage in the marketplace due to a lack of knowledge or shopping sophistication as has been suggested by some researchers. Rather, these seemingly inferior patronage decisions are the result of situational variables, namely lack of an automobile and adequate storage facilities, that are directly related to poverty and over which they have little or no control. In these cases the locational aspect or distance to the nearest store appears to outweigh considerations such as the price of the goods. This was further emphasized by the low levels of satisfaction corner store shoppers expressed when questioned about prices charged in these stores. Similarly, when shopping for durables, both groups engaged in nearly the same amount of pre-purchase shopping and gave similar reasons for patronizing the different store types. These findings throw doubt on the claims by other researchers that different socio-economic groups prefer different store types. This is particularly true of research that suggests the poor are dependent upon the small store owners who exploit this immobile and naive clientele who, in turn, are either too intimidated or too reliant upon credit to patronize the larger department stores. It would appear that Rich and Jain's (1968) contention that differences in shopping behavior attributable to social class differences are no longer as apparent as it once may have been.

EVALUATION OF RESEARCH METHODS

Poverty versus Non-Poverty

The use of a door-to-door survey as a method for obtaining data is

obviously the most effective, although time consuming, approach when attemting to collect information such as that presented in this thesis. Aside from the problem of interviewing reluctant or suspicious residents as well as those non-English speaking households, obtaining information regarding income levels is a major obstacle. For this reason it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain income figures in absolute terms. However, it is possible to evoke a response as to whether the household income exceeds a certain figure and to make interpretations based on such information as source(s) of income, number of dependents and the skill levels of the income provider(s). In this way, households can be categorized as being either above or below the official poverty cut-off line as established and revised from year to year by Statistics Canada. The use of this technique in this study resulted in the delimitation of two income groups who were significantly different from one another with regard to such factors as education, age, sex and race of the household head, automobile ownership and availability of credit. In other words, it served as a useful tool for identifying who was poor according to the guidelines used by the Federal Government. However, this type of data (nominal versus ordinal or ratio scales) is crude and does not lend itself to the more sophisticated statistical techniques such as regression analysis which can be used in the construction of models for the purpose of prediction. Instead, the researcher can only test hypotheses to see if relationships exist without actually establishing the strength of those relationships. In defense of the above method, however, it does serve as a useful tool in difficult situations (such as when attempting to establish income levels) and provides the researcher with the opportunity to suggest more specific hypotheses for subsequent research.

Cognitive-Behavioral

The two areas of this study which might be termed as cognitive-behavioral research relate to shopping scope and levels of consumer satisfaction.

Shopping scope was measured in two different ways. For grocery shopping, the consumer's knowledge of the existing retail structure was tested. This was accomplished by showing the respondent a map of the Study Area showing all the grocery stores and asking the individual to indicate which ones he or she recognized. It was hypothesized that, based on findings by Smith (1974), the low income group would know fewer stores and therefore have a narrower shopping scope. No such relationship was found, nor was there found to be a relationship between shopping scope and whether or not the respondent shopped at a corner store. For durable shopping, shopping scope was measured by the amount of pre-purchase shopping the respondents engaged in during their last major purchase. Although one-half of both groups did not engage in any comparative shopping, the higher income shoppers who did shop around visited a greater number of stores than the low income shoppers. Clearly, these findings in the first instance are at odds with the findings of other researchers as reviewed in Chapter Four. However, the fact that the behavior of the two groups was so similar in the other areas of grocery shopping would seem to suggest that this study's findings are valid, at least in regard to the Edmonton situation. In the case of durable shopping, the differences, although not great, did exist. These differences may be explained by the fact that the higher income group enjoyed greater mobility than the poverty level respondents. It may be concluded that either these measurements are not accurate indicators of shopping scope or that shopping scope does not necessarily vary between income

groups. If the latter is true, more research is needed to determine what factors play a role in the development of a wide shopping scope.

As was discussed in Chapter Four, little research in Geography has been conducted with regard to consumer attitudes although Garner (1970) has suggested that the semantic differential is a useful device when measuring qualitative aspects of stores. In order to overcome the difficulties associated with administering a relatively complex scale to a group of people who may not have had much formal education, a simple five point rating scheme was adopted ranging from "excellent" to "poor". The qualitative aspects used were based on the findings by Downs (1970) and have been reviewed elsewhere. It was felt that if the poverty level shoppers perceived the retailers as being dishonest or that they were being taken advantage of, it would be reflected in their value judgements of the stores. In the case of grocery shopping, there was general dissatisfaction with prices which was consistent with the fact that corner store shoppers considered the prices in corner stores to be higher than those charged in the supermarkets. This was particularly evident in the judgements of low income shoppers reflecting their sensitivity to price differences. Contrary to the views of other researchers, the low income durable shoppers did not express a reluctance to patronize the large, bureaucratic department stores and were less than satisfied with most aspects of the second-hand stores within the Study Area. This technique proved to be easy to administer and produced results that were both meaningful and useful. The poor should not be considered as a class apart from the mainstream of society who employ radically different value systems and knowledge levels in their shopping habits. Rather, they appear to have the same aspirations and needs as the higher income shoppers but are forced to adjust their behavior to the situation

in which they find themselves.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR PLANNERS

Since the Study Area is feeling the pressures of a rapidly growing metropolis and alternatives for its future are presently being prepared by the City's planning department, suggestions are in order. First, there is still a need for the small freestanding grocery store, particularly for those consumers with restricted mobility and limited resources. Any zoning changes in this regard would be detrimental to the welfare of this segment of the population. Secondly, in order for these stores to survive, there must continue to be an adequate supply of housing suited to the limited resources these people have. This is especially true of the elderly pensioners and those unable to join the labor force due to physical infirmities or housebound residents such as single mothers. The area also provides low-cost housing for newcomers to Edmonton. These not only include immigrants to Canada, but the Native population who have been arriving in the inner areas of Canadian cites in recent years. Edmonton is not only the "gateway to the North" with respect to growing resource development, but is also the "gateway to the South" for the indigenous people who are finding their lives and traditions altered by this continuing development. Finally, the Boyle Street/McCauley neighbourhood should not be viewed simply as a slum to be razed and reconstructed in some form to benefit another segment of society. It is, instead, a neighbourhood with many long term residents, both the poverty stricken and the more affluent, who choose to live there for any number of reasons.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR EDUCATORS

Consumer education for the poor appears to have had its beginnings

in the slums of American cities during the 1960's as part of the war on poverty. Certainly, with the nearly universal attention paid to the media and communications, particularly television, Canadians, including the poor, are better informed than ever before. At least this appears to be true for such traditional advice as shop around, avoid over-priced stores, purchase in bulk and beware of credit. It is evident that the poverty level consumers were as aware of these adages as the supposedly better informed higher income shoppers. Those that did not always adhere to these prescribed methods did so more out of necessity than ignorance and no amount of education can change that type of behavior. Perhaps there are still those who can benefit from such advice such as the Native person newly arrived in the city and unfamiliar with the more complex urban marketplace. In general, however, the poor can benefit more from other types of advice and services. Examples of the latter are the successful operations of the Community Income Tax Service (CITS) that competes directly with the income tax discounters or Humans on Welfare (HOW), a voluntary organization which, among other things, helpsthe needy recipient of social assistance cut through bureaucratic red tape. Consumer education has not run its course but, instead, must be adjusted to cope with the ever increasing complexities of day-to-day life.

CONCLUSION

The concluding comments on this study must be on its success in accomplishing the research aims set out at the beginning, namely to study the shopping habits of the poor and to identify the reasons for that particular behavior. Previous research, mainly British and American, found that low income consumers behave differently in the marketplace and such explanations as lower knowledge levels, negative attitudes towards certain types

of retail outlets, and reliance upon a unique type of retailer due to their lack of mobility and need for credit have been offered as the reasons behind their patronage choices. Generally speaking, this study found the poor to have similar knowledge levels to their higher income counterparts, they expressed the willingness to shop at similar types of stores and they did not appear to be locked into any exorbitant credit arrangements. Mobility, or lack of it, appeared to account for the major difference which was the fact that the poverty level consumers travelled shorter distances to durable goods shop. Related to mobility for low income grocery shoppers was the difficulty in keeping perishable items due to inadequate storage facilities thus necessitating frequent trips to the nearby corner stores. The differences in shopping patterns resulted from situational rather than any behavioral (innate or otherwise) factors. The poor should not be viewed as a separate subculture nor should they be thought of as being incapable of functioning within today's complex marketplace. Given the opportunity, they are just as capable of making rational decisions as the "solid middle classes".

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APPENDIX

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
TELEPHONE (403) 432-3274

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, CANADA T6G 2H4

Dear Sir/Madam;

I am a graduate student in the geography department of the University of Alberta. To complete my master's degree, I am doing a thesis on the shopping behavior of inner city residents. In particular, I would like to find out in what ways you do your shopping and how you perceive the shopping environment in your neighborhood. Hopefully, the study will help towards better planning of inner city shopping facilities and improved customer programs. Your co-operation in answering the following set of questions will be most helpful. Any personal information thus collected will be kept confidential.

Thank you very much for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Dwayne Gilham,
Department of Geography, U. of A.

CONSUMER SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Food Items

1) Please indicate on the map provided where you live.

2) With a circle, please indicate on the map provided the grocery stores with which you are familiar.

3) Also indicate on the map, with an X, where you do most of your grocery shopping.

4) What proportion of you total grocery expenditures were made in that store?

one-quarter _____
one-half _____
three-quarters _____
all _____

5) How often do you visit the grocery store? Every day _____
Every second day _____
Every third day _____
Once a week _____
Once every two weeks _____

6) By what means do you usually travel to the grocery store?

Car _____
Bus _____
Bike _____
Walk _____

7) Does this store provide credit or a charge account? Yes _____
No _____
Don't know _____

8) If so, do you ever use this credit? Always _____
Sometimes _____
Never _____

9) Do you usually buy large, medium or small sized packages?

Large _____
Medium _____
Small _____

10) If small sized, why? Ease of carrying _____
Ease of storing _____
Lack of selection at store _____
To save money _____
Other (please fill in) _____

_____

11) If large sized, why? Lack of selection at store _____
Large family _____
To save money _____
Other (please fill in) _____

_____

12) Do you ever purchase frozen, prepared foods such as T.V. Dinners or Fish and Chips?

Yes _____
No _____

13) If yes, how often would you serve these kinds of meals?

Daily _____
Every second day _____
Every third day _____
Once a week _____
Once every two weeks _____

14) How often do you buy a meal in a restaurant or order take-out or home delivery?

Daily _____
Every second day _____
Every third day _____
Once a week _____
Once every two weeks _____
Once a month _____
Once every six months _____
Never _____

15) Does grocery shopping pose any particular problem to you?

Transportation _____
Need babysitter _____
Weather _____
Other (please fill in) _____

16) Do you enjoy grocery shopping?

Yes _____
No _____

17) How do you rate your grocery store with regard to:

a) Selection of merchandise-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

b) Price of merchandise-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

c) Quality of merchandise-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

d) Store interior-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

e) Service and Friendliness-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

18) Do you think that there is any difference in the price, quality and selection of the merchandise offered in the store you usually shop in compared to other stores in:

a) Your area
Better _____
Worse _____
About the same _____
Don't know _____

b) Other parts of the city
Better _____
Worse _____
About the same _____
Don't know _____

19) Compared to supermarkets such as Safeway, Loblaws or I.G.A., would you say that prices in a corner grocery store are:

Higher _____
Lower _____
About the same _____
Don't know _____

20) Do you think you are saving money by buying in bulk (eg. large packages) ?

Yes _____
No _____
Don't know _____

21) When grocery shopping are you aware of "unit pricing" ?

Yes _____
No _____

22) Do advertisements such as flyers, newspapers, radio or T.V. ever affect or influence your grocery shopping ?

Yes _____
No _____

23) If yes, which types of advertising ? (please fill in) _____

_____

Non-Food

24) Do you have any credit cards or charge accounts ? Yes _____
No _____

25) If yes, how often do you use it (them) ? Always _____
Sometimes _____
Never _____

26) Please state your most recent major purchase. (eg., T.V., furniture, washer, dryer, automobile, or if you have made no major purchases within the past year please state your last clothing purchase) _____

_____.

27) Where was this purchase made ? (please fill in the name of the store) _____

_____.

28) How many stores did you visit before making this purchase?

Five or more _____
Four _____
Three _____
Two _____
One _____
None _____

29) How did you pay for it?

Cash _____
Credit _____
Layaway plan _____

30) If credit, were you aware of: a) the credit charge ($/mo)
Yes _____ Amount _____
No _____

b) the interest rate (%/year)
Yes _____ Amount _____
No _____

31) How do you rate this store with regard to:

a) Selection of merchandise-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

b) Price of merchandise-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

c) Quality of merchandise-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

d) Store interior-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

e) Service and Friendliness-- Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

f) Servicing of the product-- (eg; warranty, repairs, replacement) Excellent _____
Good _____
Average _____
Fair _____
Poor _____

32) Compared to other stores in your area, this store is: Better _____.
Worse _____ About the same _____. Don't know _____.

33) Compared to stores in the rest of the city, this store is: Better _____.
Worse _____. About the same _____. Don't know _____.

34) Why did you chose this particular store? (please fill in) _____

_____.

35) Would you deal there again in the future? Yes _____
No _____
Don't know _____

36) Do you ever consult Consumer Reports or other government publications before making a major purchase?

Always _____
Sometimes _____
Never _____

37) What door-to-door salesmen visit you? (please fill in) _____

_____.

38) Have you ever gone to an income tax "discounter"? Yes _____
No _____

39) If yes, would you ever do so again? Yes _____
No _____
Don't know _____

40) Are you aware of the Community Income Tax Service of Alberta and its advantages?

Yes _____
No _____

Household Details

41) Number of adults (over 18 years) _____

42) Number of children _____

43) Occupation of household head _____

44) Occupation(s) of other adults _____

45) Length of residence at present address _____

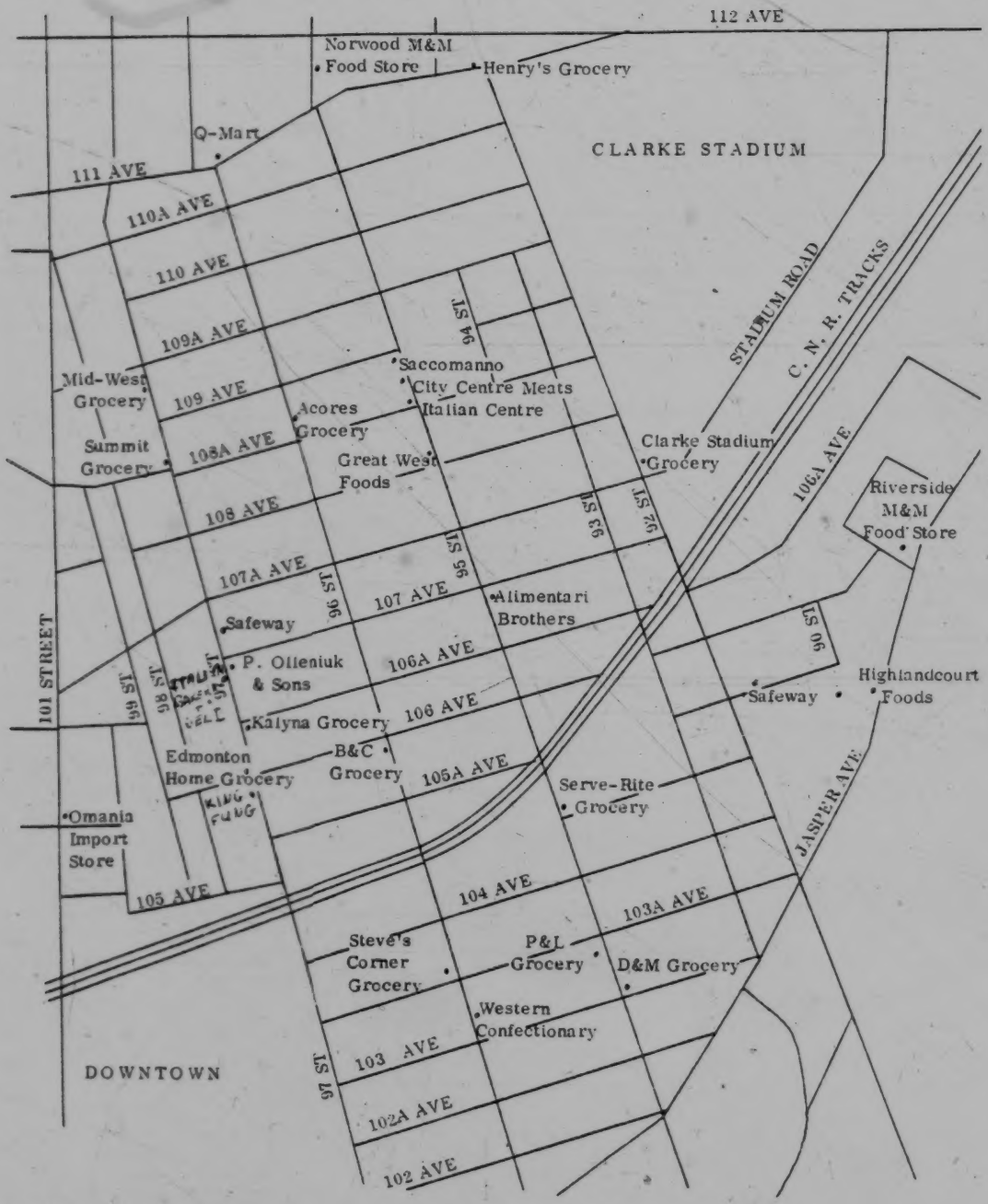
46) Length of residence in Study Area (see map) _____

47) Number of cars in the household _____

48) Place of birth (if outside Canada) _____

49) Education _____

50) Sex of respondent _____


112 AVE
Norwood M&M Food Store
Henry's Grocery
Q-Mart
CLARKE STADIUM
111 AVE
110A AVE
110 AVE
109A AVE
109 AVE
108A AVE
108 AVE
107A AVE
107 AVE
106A AVE
106 AVE
105A AVE
105 AVE
104 AVE
103A AVE
103 AVE
102A AVE
102 AVE
94 ST
95 ST
96 ST
99 ST
101 STREET
STADIUM ROAD
C. N. R. TRACKS
JASPER AVE
90 ST
92 ST
93 ST
Mid-West Grocery
Summit Grocery
Acores Grocery
Saccomanno City Centre Meats Italian Centre
Great West Foods
Clarke Stadium Grocery
Riverside M&M Food Store
Safeway
P. Olleniuk & Sons
Alimentari Brothers
Kalyna Grocery
Edmonton Home Grocery
B&C Grocery
Serve-Rite Grocery
Safeway
Highlandcourt Foods
Omania Import Store
KING FUNG
Steve's Corner Grocery
P&L Grocery
D&M Grocery
Western Confectionary
DOWNTOWN